

unusual in three respects: (1) he 'signed' many statues as if he was their maker or the owner of the workshop from which they came; (2) the statues themselves were of a style and technique that seem to belong 150 years earlier; and (3) Fl. Zenon signed his name with the titles of a high priest and a *comes*, an elevated social status attested for no other ancient sculptor. Rather than a carver, he seems to have been a well-connected business impresario, a specialist statue supplier active in the vigorous fourth-century market for recycled sculptures.³ His city of origin lent his business an added cachet.

In terms of its statue use and its profile of public honours, however, Aphrodisias was surely not atypical or unique. Other provincial capitals in the east, such as Ephesus and Corinth, had similar statue profiles. Athens, another eastern 'statue city', had comparable numbers even though it was not a provincial capital. In the relative terms of norms of eastern statue regions, Aphrodisias has a better-preserved statue record, but not especially so in terms of quantity. All eastern cities were dwarfed in sheer numbers of new public honours by Rome and Constantinople. In terms of special status, the most important distinction of the Aphrodisian evidence is the preservation of excavated display contexts and accumulations of statues from the early imperial period through to the end of ancient statue practice. This is emphatically a matter of the quality of the site's contextual data and statue preservation and not of atypical statue use.

This chapter examines in turn the following aspects: (1) the overall picture of Aphrodisian statue practice, both the spatial distribution of new late antique honours within the city and the range of honorands attested by inscribed bases; (2) the character and costume choices of the surviving portraits and statues; and (3) some specific contexts and urban complexes that experienced the most dense statue accumulations in the late antique period. This third part will

present some new pieces and new contextual research on the late statues from the site.

SPATIAL CONTEXT AND DISTRIBUTION

Statue practice in the 'early' period is essential background to understanding the context and meaning of the late statues. 'Aphrodisias II', on the portrait statuary of the first to third centuries AD, presented some 220 statuary items and the evidence of some 274 inscribed bases that carried honorific statues. The great majority of the public statuary was concentrated in a few crowded statue hot-spots: in and around the Bouleuterion, the Sebasteion, the Hadrianic Baths, the Agora Gate, and the Theatre.⁴

In the late period, there are overall some sixty surviving statuary items and some forty inscribed statue bases. In gross numbers, this is of course a sharp reduction of at least 5:1 against the early period. We might then speak in abstract terms of a steep decline in statue production. But that is only one perspective. Viewed in terms of context and contemporary experience, in which most of the surviving earlier statue honours were still on display, the 'decline' takes on a different aspect. Overall statue use was maintained in the same key urban locations as before, and new honours were added at what were now thought to be the most effective points of display—the Bouleuterion, Hadrianic Baths, and Theatre (Fig. 12.1). (There is also a group of about ten shield portraits in a private context—a grand house beside the Sebasteion.)⁵ The stock of public statues was indeed added to, but now at a reduced rate of increase. Late antique statues were part of a deep and changing earlier statue-scape. The decline in the abstract numbers would not have been felt in those terms by contemporary viewers in the late period. It would have been seen as a reduced rate of statue awards entirely appropriate to contemporary circumstances. There were (one might

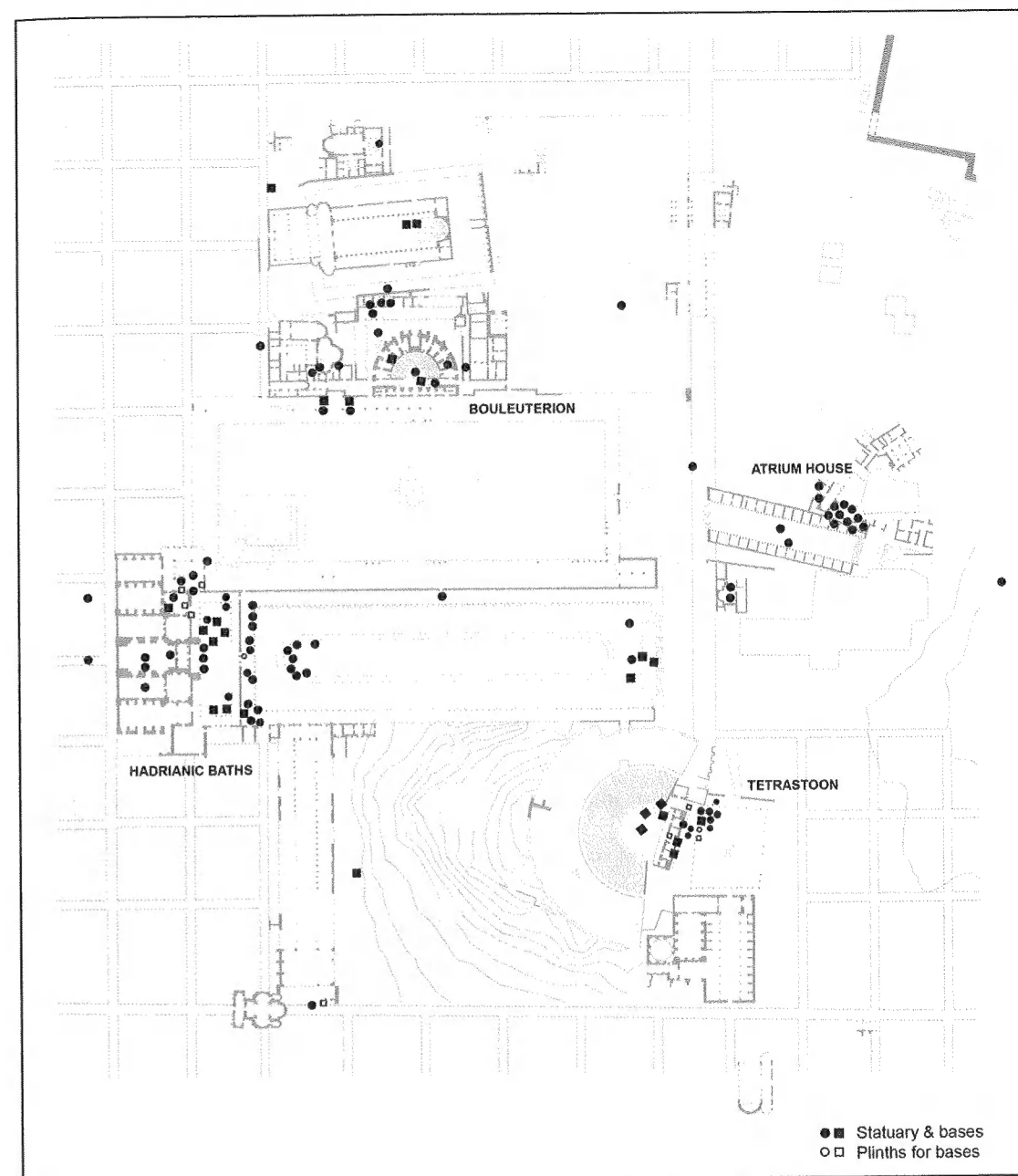


Fig. 12.1 Aphrodisias. City centre with find locations of late antique statues and bases.

³ Alternative view of Fl. Zenon as sculpture impresario: Smith (2007: 214–15).

⁴ Smith et al. (2006).

⁵ LSA 206–14. Other shield portraits from Aphrodisias: LSA 236, 238, and 602–4.

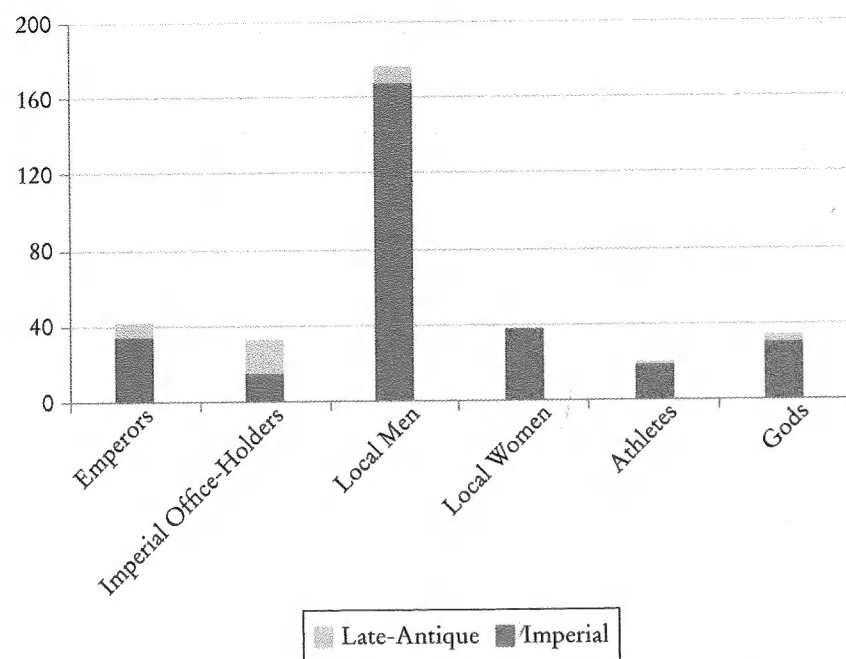


Fig. 12.2 Aphrodisias. Categories of honorand recorded in imperial-period and late antique bases. Total = 305 imperial period, 40 late antique.

have said) so many fewer who deserved statues, or more cynically, many fewer who were prepared to pay for them—in the wake of imperial legislation that mandated precisely this.⁶

In the city's 500-year agglomeration of statues, the earlier statue honours were maintained and reconfigured (moved, repaired, taken down, recycled), and new statue honours—some newly carved, some made of recycled or recarved components—were set up among the earlier ones or close to them. Earlier statues remained 'operational' alongside or near new honours. This can be represented spatially in a find-plan of the

city centre that lays the distribution of new late honours over that of the earlier statuary. It can also be represented in social and political terms in a bar chart of earlier and later inscribed honorific bases analysed by honorand (Fig. 12.2).

The changes in proportions of honours awarded to different categories of subject are revealing. Given that the proportion of early to late inscribed bases is 305:40, i.e. about 7.5:1, honours for emperors maintain their position.⁷ Indeed, they increase their relative numbers in the late period (from 11 per cent to 17.5 per cent of the total). Imperial office-holders greatly increase their share (from 6 per cent to 45 per cent of the total in the respective periods), while local notables lose drastically (from 55 per cent to 22.5 per cent). Having attained some 12 per cent of public statue honours in the early period,

⁶ References to Theodosian statue legislation, *De statuis et imaginibus*, are collected in *CJ* 1.24.1–4. Note especially: 'Whenever, therefore, any corporation or official body, in this sacred city or in the provinces, shall ask a statue to be erected to our judges [i.e. governors] or anyone else, the expense thereof shall not be paid out of assessments [against taxpayers], but it shall be erected at his own expense by the person in whose honor it is sought to be built' (1.24.4, AD 444). On the statue legislation of the period: von Premerstein (1912), Feissel (1984), and Horster (1998).

⁷ The number of 305 inscribed bases of the early period includes all inscribed statue bases, not only those for honorific statues, whose total is 274.

women are simply no longer present in the public honorific arena at all. Inscribed bases for athletes and votive bases for gods remain in similar low proportions. In essence, the officers of the Roman state (emperors, prefects, governors) increase their share of public honours at the expense of local notables and their wives.

The perspective which sees a slow accumulation of statues in the same contexts, as opposed to a replacement of old, earlier statues by new, late ones (a replacement which never occurred on the ground in historical reality), is important in understanding and calibrating the contemporary impact of new costumes and styles in late antiquity. Older art-historical narratives are too starkly drawn. There was, of course, much that was new and striking in the real components and features represented in late statues, as well as in their style and techniques; but it is vital to see the early and the late portraits and statues in the same frame, operational and effective in the same physical and semantic field. The late statues acted fundamentally as the same kind of public symbols as the early statues—high-specification, real-looking, exquisitely carved man-figures in carefully distinguished, lightly varied costumes and slow-changing portrait styles. Our ability to recognize easily on grounds of hairstyle and technique a late portrait from an early portrait has led to an exaggeration of the differences between them, and to the projection of the sharp differences we feel onto late antiquity. Late antique viewers more likely saw the new statues as part of the same continuing cultural practice, with new contemporary accents and meaning in their changed costumes and hairstyles, but crucially without the earlier statues that were still on display losing any of their effectiveness or charge. Their meaning was no doubt modulated by new juxtapositions, but they remained part of the same practice.

EXTANT STATUARY

The sixty-four surviving statuary items from Aphrodisias in LSA comprise the following: twenty-two heads, twenty-two statues, fourteen

shield portraits, and six busts. The heads are mostly from public contexts and were probably for the most part from statues. Of the twenty-two statues, ten have all or parts of their head, and twelve are headless. The fourteen shield portraits represent cultural heroes of the past, and nine of them are from one context, a grand town house ('Atrium House') (the others were early finds without known find-contexts). Two of the busts are also from the Atrium House (LSA 203 and 204 (Fig. 12.9)), and the others too were destined more likely for private than public settings. Most important of all in the LSA context are some ten statues that have inscribed bases and precise excavated find-spots and display contexts that can be reconstructed in some detail. These monuments are cornerstones of the subject and of the LSA project—in terms of display, costume use, portrait style, and chronology. They provide a strong basic armature of hard evidence for statue norms in the eastern empire from c. AD 300 to 500. It may be helpful to provide a brief annotated list.

- 1 and 2. **Piseas and Candidianus** (LSA 531 with 532; 545 with 547) (Fig. 12.3): two naked statues of local champion boxers wearing heavy wool-lined *caestus*, displayed on the north and south sides of the stage of the Theatre in the late third or early fourth century. They belong at the end of the long tradition of naked, athletic statues, but remained in use through the late period when they were heavily repaired, probably more than once, and equipped with new, recycled bases. The statue of Piseas was also signed on its plinth by its maker, one Polyneikes.
3. **Julian-Theodosius** (LSA 196 or 750 with 197): recycled toga statue of the second century set up for the emperor Julian (361–4) in the Tetrastoon in front of the Theatre on a three-part cannibalized cylindrical base by the governor, Antonius Tatianus, who records there his (re)building of the Tetrastoon. The statue was later rededicated for Theodosius (whether Theodosius I or II is not specified in the inscription). A recarved

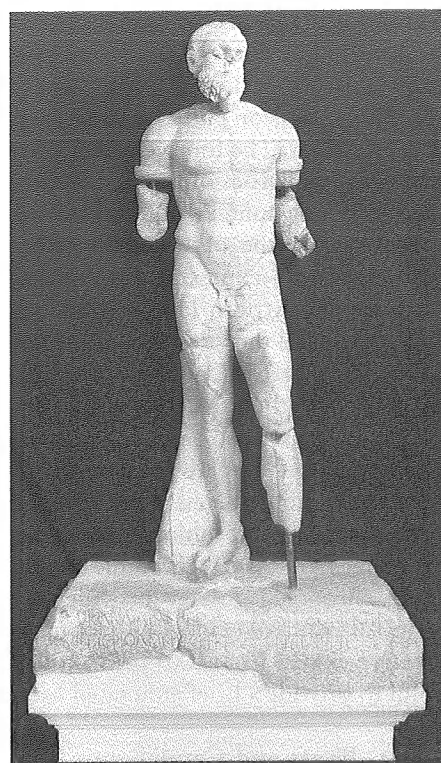


Fig. 12.3 Statue of boxer Candidianus with upper part of base. From Aphrodisias. Late third to early fourth century, LSA 545 and 547. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 67-287, 67-288, 68-400. H: 174 cm.

Julio-Claudian head, with thinned features and added jewel diadem, probably belongs to this Theodosian renaming of the monument. With the statue of Valens, this statue is a good dated example of the prevalence of recycled statues as much in the east as in the west, up to at least c. 370-90.

4. **Valens** (LSA 196 or 750 with 223): another recycled toga statue of the early imperial period set up by the same governor but for the emperor Valens (364-78) on a re-used rectangular base, again in the Tetrastoon. It has a shallow cutting at the neck for a separately added head.
- 5 and 6. **Arcadius and Valentinian II** (LSA 163, 165, with 164, 166) (Figs 12.4, 23.11): two newly carved statues of the highest

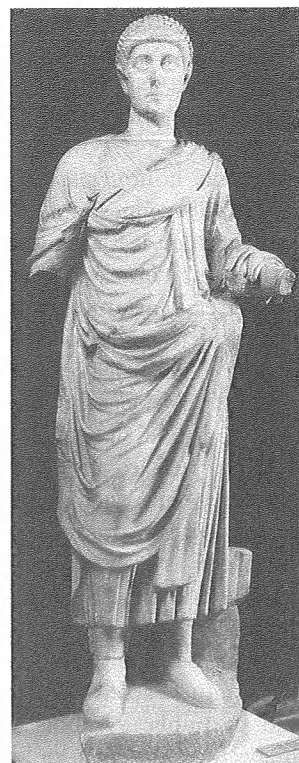


Fig. 12.4 Statue of emperor in toga (Arcadius or Valentinian II). From Aphrodisias. 388-92, LSA 163. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2264. H: 188 cm.

quality, wearing one of the new shorter forms of the late antique toga, set on tall cylindrical bases in the west stoa of the South Agora adjacent to the Hadrianic Baths, by the praetorian prefect of the East (PPO), Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus, in AD 388-92. They formed part of a Theodosian imperial group, together with a statue of Honorius (LSA 167).

7. **Alexandros** (LSA 152 with 153) (Fig. 12.5): recycled himation statue of a local(?) governor, Alexandros, set up in the stoa outside the Bouleuterion by 'the metropolis of Phrygia' (= Laodikeia or Synnada), in c. 400, on a re-used octagonal base with an earlier Doric capital as its upper element and the inverted crown moulding of an

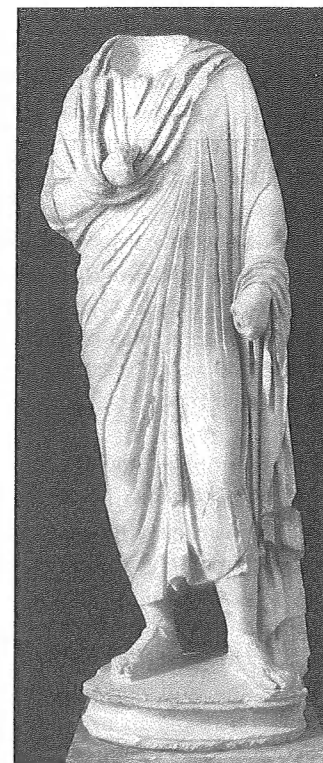


Fig. 12.5 Himation statue, re-used for governor Alexandros. From Aphrodisias. Fourth century, LSA 152. Aphrodisias, Museum, inv. 79/10/203+208. H: 160 cm.

earlier base as its lower element. The statue has several repairs, and the (missing) head was attached in a late antique cutting inside the neckline of the costume. The monument does not have a precise date. One of its most important aspects is that it shows conclusively that a governor's statue did not have to wear one of the new distinctive ranking costumes (chlamys or new-style toga) but could wear a civic himation, if that was felt, in the circumstances, to be more appropriate or more effective.

8. **Oecumenius** (LSA 150 with 151 (Fig. 1.15)): high-quality, newly carved statue of a governor of Caria, Oecumenius, wearing a long chlamys, belted and long-sleeved tunic, and pointed boots, set up in the stoa in front of the Bouleuterion by the city

council in c. AD 400, on a tall panelled base, recycled, but without the usual upper or lower projecting crown and base elements. The portrait has a plump bearded face and Theodosian 'crested' hairstyle (its most closely datable aspect), known from the obelisk base of 388-92 in Constantinople. A covert Christian abbreviation, XMG, is inscribed carefully on top of the head behind the hair 'crest', probably by the statue's maker.

9. **Pytheas** (LSA 147 with 148): a newly carved statue of a local magnate, builder, and benefactor, Pytheas, probably a pagan, wearing what had become the standard form of the late antique senatorial toga costume, set up on a recycled panelled base inside the Bouleuterion. The base with an inscribed epigram is fragmentary and does not preserve information about who dedicated the statue. Epigraphy and the thick, curled hairstyle suggest a date in the later fifth century.
10. **Palmatus** (LSA 198 with 199) (Figs 12.6 and 1.10): a full-size, high-quality togate statue of the consular governor of Caria and acting vicar (of the diocese of Asiana), Flavius Palmatus, wearing the standard form of late antique toga costume, holding a *mappa* and baton, set up on a base made out of one and a half old bases in c. AD 500 in the Tetrastoon in front of the Theatre. The late antique body was probably recycled from a monument of the early fifth century. The head, made separately and inserted into a socket carved inside the neckline of the tunic, was found under the statue and certainly belonged with it. It is, however, too small for the statue and of different, less accomplished manufacture. The portrait wears the thick, curled 'mop' hairstyle, a stubble beard, and an impressively severe expression. The date depends on a combination of the governor's rank and his hairstyle and regrettably cannot be more precise. Its outside limits are between the later fifth and early sixth century.

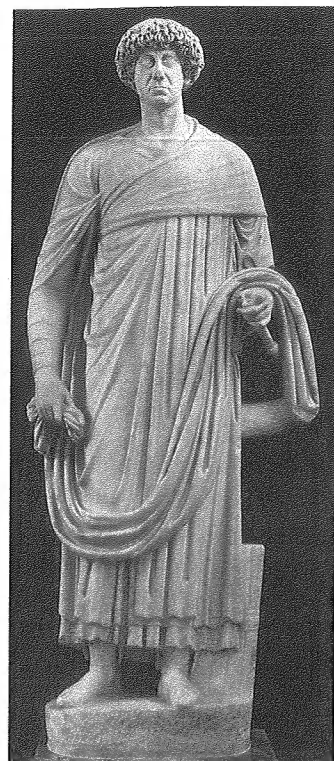


Fig. 12.6 Statue of Fl. Palmatus in toga. Early sixth century, LSA 198. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 72-49. H: 201.5 cm.

These ten statues have firm association with their inscribed bases that provides a wealth of precise detail and circumstances to frame each monument. Unidentified portraits can of course have a lot of visual power, but in these cases, that visual power is strengthened through the axes of a precise urban setting and of a particular social-political meaning. We see the complexity of the negotiation between several different parties—the governor, the council, the city—which the statue embodied and of which it was the result.

COSTUME CHOICES

All of the available costume choices, both old and new, early and late, were used for late antique

honorands in the statues and busts of Aphrodisias: naked, cuirass, himation, traditional toga, new-style toga, and the new-style chlamys. In Chapter 1 (Smith), we saw how the dated evidence of Aphrodisias provides strong and clear evidence for a sudden beginning in the deployment of new costumes (new-style toga and chlamys) in statuary probably in the 370s. Up to at least the 360s, statue honours seem to have recycled old statues with old-style costumes. The Julian and Valens monuments are important dated pieces for the argument (see Chapter 22, Lenaghan). From c. AD 390 at the latest, the new-style toga and chlamys statues start to appear at Aphrodisias. Key monuments here are the Theodosian group of AD 388-92 and the Oecumenius statue, which is the earliest approximately datable chlamys statue anywhere. On the evidence of the Aphrodisian statues, the change occurred then between AD 364 and 388-92. It may perhaps be seen as a parallel development to the real and perceived tightening and codification of ranks, offices, and titles attested in imperial legislation in the 370s (as argued in Chapter 1, Smith).

HIMATION

The continued success of the old himation costume is a much underrated phenomenon. The chiton and himation 'suit', more rarely the 'bare-chested' himation on its own, had been, since the third century BC, the costume worn by honorific statues of Greek city notables. It remained the default costume for statues of notables in the early Roman east, alongside sparing use of the toga. It signified civic, civilian, citizen, and correct, disciplined social comportment. The himation costume continued too into late antiquity as a major option. From Aphrodisias, the database has three busts (LSA 156, 203, and 204) and five honorific statues wearing the himation (LSA 152, 155, 172, 215, and 218). The himation costume vs the toga or chlamys costumes does not map neatly onto local notables vs 'outside' office-holders of the imperial state.

Some himation subjects—for example, those in himation busts from private contexts—were surely locals, but not all. We saw that the traditional civic himation suit was chosen as an effective costume for the statue of the governor Alexandros (LSA 152 (Fig. 12.5)). It was perhaps chosen in this case because Alexandros seems to have been a local Aphrodisian for whom the himation costume would usefully have represented the great man as a citizen in his *patris*. The important ranks signified in a chlamys were probably represented more by its coloured and patterned *segmenta* than by the chlamys form itself.⁸

Since the form and meaning of the himation remained stable, it was possible to make good and impressive new statue monuments out of old decommissioned himation statues. And since a large number of high-quality himation statues of the early period were potentially available, it is all the more surprising that Aphrodisias has a significant number of *newly carved* himation statues of the late period. The difference in expense between purchase from the city on the second-hand market and manufacture *ex novo* from newly quarried stone would have been considerable.

One new himation statue (LSA 218, Fig. 1.14) from the north necropolis area is merely a late antique version of a common himation design: little is different in terms of dress iconography, attributes, or gesture. This is the most difficult to understand. Two others (LSA 172 and 215) are highly unusual himation statues, and reasons for new manufacture can be seen. One is a seated figure in a strong authoritative posture (LSA 172), with a stiff upright back and making some power gesture with his outstretched right hand. Were it not wearing Greek sandals, one might easily think the balteus-like roll of the outer garment high on the chest signified a ceremonial togate figure.

The other newly carved himation statue (LSA 215) is a truly remarkable figure (Fig. 12.7). It

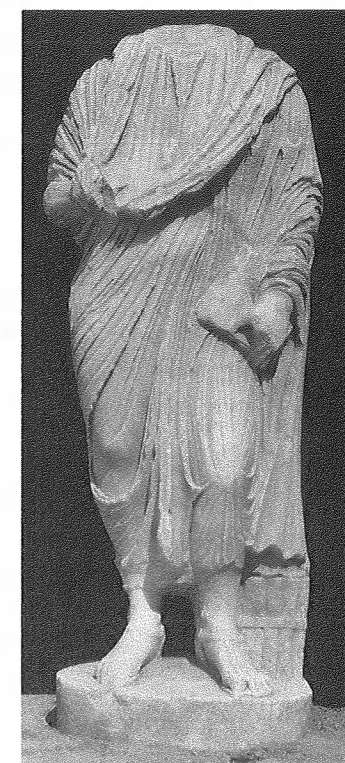


Fig. 12.7 Himation statue (headless) holding codex. From Aphrodisias. Fourth-fifth century, LSA 215. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 83-69 and 87-3. H: 192 cm.

is unusually large and bulky, well over life-size, and much bigger than most late statues. It has a strange, awkward contour and a gauche posture with the feet too close together. The subject wears a himation that is shorter than the Hellenistic and early imperial norm, and is treated in a distinctive drapery style in which the garment is carved with long, unbroken folds and ridges that lend them an unusual sinuous and dynamic appearance. Truly remarkable is the figure's main attribute: a codex whose pages are carefully indicated. As surprising is the presence at Ephesus of a near-replica of the statue (LSA 737), of the same scale and with the same ungainly posture and curious drapery style, but without a codex. The two statues surely represent the same honorand, who should have been some great cultural-political figure of the time

⁸ MacMullen (1999: 95-102).

(perhaps the later fourth century). These were rare, unusual statues, surely special commissions. The seated statue has an 'upgraded' himation design that assimilates the figure to an office-holding *togatus*, while the 'codex' statue has a 'personal' design and carries a special attribute, the new form of book.

Probably, as elsewhere, there were many more himation statues at Aphrodisias that were recycled for new honours than we can now see, because little or nothing was done to them for their second context. Indeed, we may suspect that we have so many himation statues surviving from the city centre of Aphrodisias (as well as other centres) because they had been reassigned to new late antique honorands—for example, some of the six early-period himation statues from the Agora Gate in the South Agora, which is known to have been completely restored in the mid-fifth century.⁹

New himation statue

An important statue excavated recently (2011) in a major north-south avenue in the city provides an excellent new example of this phenomenon (Fig. 12.8). It is an over-life-size himation figure of sensitive, high-quality work of the early imperial period, fully finished on the back as well as the front. The head is missing; it was carved separately and fitted into a shallow socket at the neck—it would have been attached by a pin set in the large square dowel hole at the bottom of the socket. The character of both the socket and the dowel hole are typical for statues re-used in late antiquity. That is, the original head was replaced in the fourth or fifth century with a portrait of a new subject. The original portrait had probably been carved in one piece with the body. It was later removed, and the new socket was cut at the level of the tunic's neckline.

The new statue joins a large and growing body of early imperial himation statues recycled for new

⁹ Himation figures from Agora Gate: Smith et al. (2006: nos 52–9). Restored in 5th c.: *ALA* 38–40.

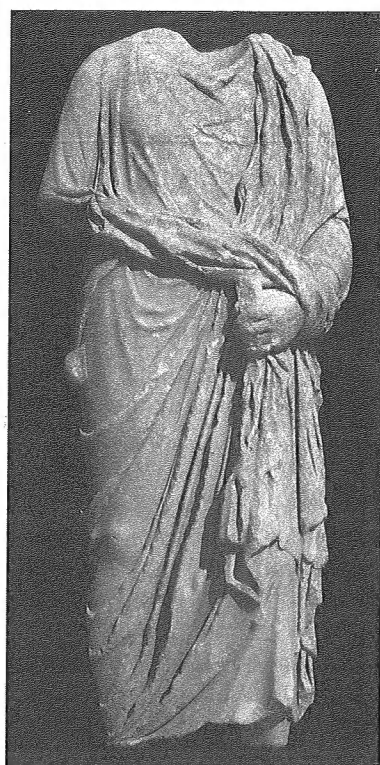


Fig. 12.8 Himation statue of early imperial period with cutting at neck for new late antique head. From Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 11-75.

subjects in late antiquity—such as Alexandros, the governor at Aphrodisias (LSA 152), and Damocharis, the governor, and Alexandros, the doctor, at Ephesus (LSA 728 and 736 (Figs 13.10 and 13.4)). They did not look 'old', out of date, or recycled to late antique eyes: the himation and himation statues remained effective and meaningful expressions of local civic power in the new circumstances of late antiquity.

We see in these statues, first and foremost, repair and re-use, and we project this onto late antiquity: viewers must have seen, we think, that these were old, re-used figures. This is a false perspective. The himation figure as a statue form had never gone away, never disappeared from the cityscape in a way that its deployment or redeployment could be seen as something 'old' and recycled. The statue form was chosen

because its meaning was still current and forceful. We detect and prioritize recycling, but the ancient viewer saw instead high-quality statues in forceful, traditional costumes.

In case we are in doubt about the meaning of such figures in late antiquity, Aphrodisias has another telling example of himation statue re-use of a different kind. The statue display of the Bouleuterion scene building was restored and rearranged in late antiquity, and a large himation statue of a great notable was rebranded as a personification of the *demos* by the simple expedient of writing *Hē Boulē ton Dēmon* on the plinth ('The Council [sc. set up the statue of] the Demos') (LSA 2583). The himation was the costume of time-honoured *demos* politics to which such intense lip service was paid in eastern Greek cities under Rome.

SOME CONTEXTS

Aphrodisias also provides the best evidence of all the LSA cities for the detailed archaeological contexts of statue finds and for display settings and statue conglomerations. Some of these major contexts may be briefly passed in review.

Atrium House

The grand mansion (Atrium House) that adjoins the Sebasteion to its north was in use from the first to the sixth century, at least, and was equipped in late antiquity with an extraordinary body of sculptures: two highest-quality himation busts (LSA 203 and 204) (Fig. 12.9); a headless statue of a woman in the guise of a Muse (LSA 202); a cuirassed man in scale armour set up at the entrance to the west of the peristyle garden (LSA 201); and a series of some nine shield portraits of cultural heroes of the classical past displayed in the garden's apse or portico (LSA 206–14). The busts and some of the shield portraits are virtuoso works of subtlety and power,

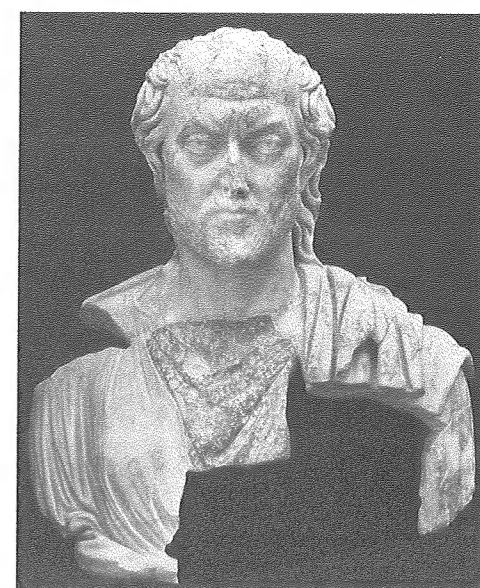


Fig. 12.9 Bust of long-haired, bearded man. From Aphrodisias. Late fourth century, LSA 203. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 81-112. H: 65.5 cm.

and date from around AD 400. They constitute an unusual private domestic display.¹⁰

Tetrastoon

The rebuilding of the Tetrastoon in front of the Theatre by a governor of the 360s provided a new setting for statues at a prestigious location. The *scaena* and inside of the Theatre were already full with earlier statues. A new honorific gallery was opened in front of the columns of the west stoa that eventually included at least seven late antique statues. The seven are attested either by their surviving bases and/or by cuttings for bases in the paving in front of the column pedestals. Substantial parts of four of the statue monuments posted here were excavated either in front of the colonnade or used as construction material in the fortification that was built around the Theatre hill in the seventh century. From south to

¹⁰ Atrium House: Smith (1990).

north, the four are: (1) Valens (LSA 196 or 750), (2) Julian (later Theodosius) (LSA 750 or 196), both recycled old toga statues of youths; (3) Fl. Palmatus, a new-style toga statue, itself re-used with a new head from an earlier late antique monument (LSA 198); and (4) a statue of a governor whose base text is fragmentary and of which only the lower part of a chlamys statue survives (LSA 228). An ancient break in the lower front right corner of the re-used base for Julian's statue was accommodated in the paving of the Tetrastoon by a paving slab cut to take up the break in the base. This shows the planned conjunction of the restored Tetrastoon and the new statue gallery on its west side. This context then illustrates well (a) the opening of a new late antique statue space, (b) the untroubled juxtaposition of recycled and newly carved statues in one sequence, and (c) the gradual accumulation of late statues in a highly desirable honorific location.¹¹

Bouleuterion

The Council House or Bouleuterion was the nerve centre of city politics, a kind of bastion of the old guard, maintained through to the end of antiquity, and witness to intense statue activity in the early and late periods.¹² Inside, the statue display of the columnar scene-building facing the auditorium was remodelled probably twice, as attested by good epigraphic evidence: first, by a governor, Priscus, in the later fourth century, and then by a local magnate, Flavius Ampelius, in the mid- to later fifth century.¹³ Old statues were moved and repaired, and some were given new heads. The newly carved togate statue of the notable Pytheas was found with its base (badly smashed by falling architecture) inside on the stage and in the orchestra (LSA 147 with 148). It belonged in the columnar facade of the building and to its second late antique rearrangement.

Outside the building, but closely connected to the seat of civic power represented by the *boulē*, there was a widely spaced statue gallery, set against the back wall of the double stoa facing onto the North Agora. It combined early and late statues. The statues of Antonius Dometeinos Diogenes and his niece Antonia Tatiana were set up in c. AD 200 flanking the outer doors into the Bouleuterion.¹⁴ They were amongst the grandest statue monuments of the city, set on huge tall bases and measuring some 4.50 m in total height. They remained standing and unchanged, as untouchable city memorials, until the end of antiquity and beyond. They were found in front of their bases, collapsed onto a deep soft empty fill of earth, accumulated over a considerable period of time, after the stoa had been abandoned. To the west, two late statue monuments were set up in the same gallery, to either side of a wide, exedra-like opening in the back wall of the stoa.¹⁵ They were found in the same situation as the two Severan statues and represented two governors of the late fourth or early fifth century. One is the recycled himation statue of Alexandros (LSA 152, Fig. 12.5), the other the chlamys statue of Oecumenius (LSA 150, Fig. 1.15). They were seen, experienced, and understood in the same frame as the earlier two statues.

Hadrianic Baths

Together with the adjoining west stoa of the South Agora, the Hadrianic Baths were the single most important setting for late statue honours. The Baths were maintained, modified, and improved all through late antiquity, and were a 'classical' public leisure facility maintained longer than any other such public complex in the city. As elsewhere in Anatolia, the Baths displayed considerable quantities of earlier statuary that had been brought from other public and probably religious complexes, as well as sculpture that was original to the Baths.¹⁶ The 'moving' earlier statues (probably many originally religious

votives) were now recuperated and rebranded as 'art', as *ornamenta urbis*. New late antique honorific statues were set up amongst these older statues. Many were placed in the adjoining west stoa of the South Agora, which became, in this period, a new honorific gallery. For example, the Older and Younger Governor statues in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (LSA 169 and 170) and the statues of the Theodosian group of AD 388–9 (see the Arcadius and Valentinian statues, above, LSA 163 and 165 (Fig. 12.4)) were found here.

Some twenty major items of late antique portrait statuary come from the Baths: five complete statues, a torso, two statue plinths, and about twelve portrait heads.¹⁷ They range in date from the later fourth century through to the late fifth or early sixth century. This complex has our best documented examples of statue conservation, redeployment, and slow, dense accumulation in one locale.

The Baths have recently been a major focus of research and conservation, and excavation in 2011 brought an important find: one of the last portraits of Aphrodisias. The Tetrastyle Court at the north end of the bath complex was originally part of a large civic hall annexed to the adjoining North Agora in the first century AD. The hall was built with and opened off the west end of the south stoa of the North Agora that was constructed in the Tiberian period. Its precise relationship to the Tetrastyle Court was investigated in excavation along the line of the wall dividing stoa from court in 2010–11, and three stairways and doorways were found connecting the stoa space to the higher level of the court.¹⁸ Some time in late antiquity, the Baths were expanded north, the Tetrastyle Court was appropriated, and the centre of the court, or hall, was turned into a water basin, decorated with great mythological

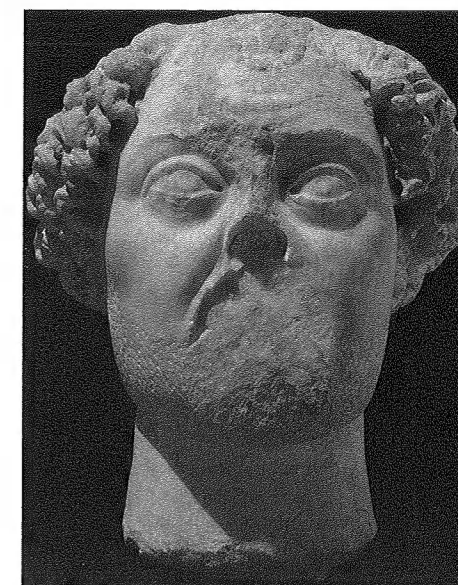


Fig. 12.10 Male portrait head, with repaired nose, found in 2011. From Aphrodisias. Early sixth century. Aphrodisias, Museum, exc. inv. 11-38.

statue groups (Pasquino, Achilles and Penthesilea) moved from elsewhere.¹⁹

The new head was found in a debris layer packed against the east side of the party wall between the stoa and the court. It is a remarkable late antique portrait head (inv. 11-38) made for attachment to a statue (Fig. 12.10).²⁰ The area of the mouth and chin and the area between the eyes are damaged, erased, but otherwise the head is well preserved. It was found with its long, original iron dowel still in the neck. The nose had been carefully cut for a repair. The subject wore a stubble beard and a fashionable Constantinopolitan hairstyle with a thick mop of curls around the head and thinner hair combed forward over a balding brow. The square-faced subject has a lined, 'caring' forehead and raised brows that give him a wide-eyed staring expression, but without enlarging the size of the eyes unduly. The eye technique and the hairstyle date from around AD 500.

¹⁷ Late antique statuary in Hadrianic Baths: see full list in Smith (2007: 221–31).

¹⁸ Smith (2012a).

¹⁹ Transformation of tetrastyle court: Smith (2007: 215–18).

²⁰ Preliminary report in Smith (2012c: fig. 9).

¹¹ Tetrastoon gallery: Smith (2001).

¹² Early period: Smith et al. (2006). Late antiquity: ALA 13, 28, 43, and 56.

¹³ Priscus: ALA 28. Ampelius: ALA 43.

¹⁴ Dometeinos and Tatiana: Smith et al. (2006: 69–71).

¹⁵ North Agora, two late statues: Smith (2002: 136).

¹⁶ Smith (2007: 208).

The new head has several interesting features. Two may be highlighted here. First, the extremely careful cutting-back of the nose and the addition of a new nose-piece with fine-grade mortar, traces of which remain in the nose cutting, suggest the head was redeployed a second time within the last period of Aphrodisian statue use. And secondly, the bottom of the neck stump is not broken, but carved with a rough, slightly convex surface. This kind of neck stump is common also in the last period of statue use at Aphrodisias. It was designed for the relatively quick and easy attachment of heads to the shoulders of statues that have characteristically shallow concave neck cuttings and large dowel holes. The new head preserves the long, thin iron dowel that was used to attach such a head in the shallow cutting. The length of the dowel (it protrudes 6.75 cm) provides stability, and its narrow diameter, in relation to the wide hole in the neck cutting, allows flexibility and adjustability when setting the head on a statue. This is the opposite technique from that of the early period, during which the neck socket was deeply scooped out and a long, unseen neck tenon was carved in marble to fit into the neck cavity precisely. The late antique method of attachment, so perfectly documented in this new head, probably implies a practice of regular and swift changes of heads on bodies.

CONCLUSIONS

Aphrodisias was a prominent 'statue' city in a thriving 'statue' region. Its late statue honours are unique in their state of preservation, but they document local practice that was typical for a medium-sized provincial capital of the eastern empire. The quantity of bases and statues surviving is directly comparable to that of cities such as Ephesus. The outstanding quality of the evidence lies in the excavated archaeological contexts of the statues and in the connection of an unmatched number of statues with the corresponding inscribed bases on which they stood.

The site's forty late antique inscribed bases and over sixty late antique surviving statuary items congregated in a few key honorific locales in the city centre (the Bouleuterion, Baths, and Theatre). They represent a reduction in numbers in relation to the early empire in the sense that there was a reduction in the production of new statues. This lower rate of production would not have been experienced as obvious 'decline', because the new statues were part of an evolving statue-scape that included large numbers of early statue honours still in place. Some new honorific 'galleries' were opened in the late period (such as those in the Tetrastoon at the Theatre and in the stoa adjoining the court of the Baths), but for the most part the new late statues were set up in the same places as the early ones. Early and late statues were part of the same symbolic practice enacted in the same settings. They might have different accents, different costumes, but for an ancient viewer, the new statues were not different in the way they operated. The old statues were still meaningful, 'active' figures. From the juxtaposition of earlier and later statues, however, local viewers would have observed easily that new statues now honoured many more emperors, governors, and other officers of the central Roman state than local notables.

The ten statues that can be securely connected with their inscribed bases provide the kind of hard, sharp-edged, detailed, contextual information that is lacking for so much of the LSA material. The statues represented the following: four emperors, three governors, two athletes, and one local magnate. Statue monuments that preserve the head, statue, base, and context, such as those of Arcadius (Fig. 12.4), Oecumenius (Fig. 1.15), and Palmatus (Fig. 12.6 (LSA 163, 150, and 198)) are cornerstones for many aspects of late antique art, statuary, and history.

Statue costumes were deployed more flexibly than we might have imagined. Early toga and himation forms remained fully valid in the late period, with no indication they were considered out of date or obviously old. Early toga and himation statues were widely re-used at

Aphrodisias and elsewhere, not out of economy, but because those costumes remained desirable and effective. New toga and chlamys costumes arrived between the 360s and the 380s, but they were clearly options added to the range of other costumes that continued beside them.

The continuing success of himation costumes in the late period is particularly striking. Probably many more than we can now see were redeployed for new statues with little change. Aphrodisias and Ephesus can document good clear cases of the phenomenon, and a recent find (2011) (Fig. 12.8) offers a striking new example at Aphrodisias. The late viewer saw here not a re-used statue (something bad) but a high-quality himation statue (something self-evidently good). Most striking in the Aphrodisias material are three high-quality, newly carved himation statues (LSA 172, 215, and 218 (Fig. 12.7)). It is surprising that new himation statues were thought necessary when so many old ones were available. The careful adjustments made in these new himation figures are, therefore, telling.

Finally, Aphrodisias has unparalleled evidence for the contexts of deployment and accumulation of statues in key complexes of the city. Congregation, addition, moving, and re-use in traditional display areas can be documented, as well as the creation of new display places when traditional positions such as the Theatre and

Bouleuterion scene buildings were long since fully occupied.

The excavated statue contexts at Aphrodisias are vital in providing documented examples of what such re-used figures might signify in specific settings and for particular honorands, of how they stood beside and among both still-active early honours and new statues in the new late costumes, and of how their meaning was gradually modulated and sharpened by juxtaposition with the emphatic central-authority frame of reference of the new toga and chlamys figures, from the 370s onwards. Even more striking, Aphrodisias can document the re-use of newly carved late antique portraits already within the period of late antiquity: the new-style toga statue used for Palmatus' portrait was already perhaps 100 years old when his monument was made in c. 500. The head may also have been made from a re-used portrait, and a new discovery (2011) shows a late head of c. AD 500 carefully repaired, probably for re-use, and equipped with a quick-change mechanism—a long, thin dowel set in a short neck stump. So, towards the end of statue use at Aphrodisias, the city began to recycle even its own late antique statue honours.

Aphrodisias offers close-up detail and context for many categories of LSA statues and an understanding of the long, complex lives of older and newer monuments.

CHAPTER 13

Ephesus

Johanna Auinger and Alexander Sokolicek

A description and analysis of all the late antique bases and statues of Ephesus, placed within their detailed context, has never been attempted.^{1,2} The LSA database has provided the opportunity to study this material within the broader framework of the use of statuary in Asia Minor and to address specific questions regarding the dating and display of statuary within the urban fabric of the metropolis of Asia. What is considered here is, of course, only a part of the statuary history of late antique Ephesus: the evidence for new or newly dedicated statuary. From this period there is also considerable evidence of earlier imperial-period statues being moved and re-displayed within the city, but without being dedicated anew.³

THE MATERIAL: INSCRIBED BASES

In total, there are some forty-five late antique statue bases, found in or near Ephesus between 1895 and 1990. This number, as in other cities (such as Aphrodisias), is a mere fraction of the approximately 800 bases recorded from the entire Roman imperial period. Furthermore, none of the bases with late antique inscriptions was produced *ex novo*. They seem all to have been re-used and transformed from older bases, mainly of the second and third centuries.⁴ In addition to these traditional bases, inscriptions on architecture also inform us about the display of statues. Below the central niche of the Nymphaeum Traiani there is a fragmentary epigram for a governor (either a building dedication or the label for a statue: LSA 459); and above a window of the Library of Celsus an epigram for the governor Stephanus (LSA 487) may indicate that a statue to him was placed on the facade of the library.

Only rectangular statue bases are known from Ephesus; there are no cylindrical or columnar

forms.⁵ The majority are tall,⁶ and either monolithic (constructed out of a single block of stone) or composite (made up of several blocks, generally three). Most of them have profiles or mouldings at the bottom and at the top; in a few cases the upper mouldings are adorned with laurel wreaths (e.g. LSA 732). There are only two 'low' bases among the late antique material. One, used for Scholastica (LSA 742) (Fig. 13.1), is a square, low base with simple profiles. The stone, a red breccia, is singular among the Ephesian bases; it was probably a re-used support for a column or pier. The second low base is of a simple profiled type made of marble, for the 'Good Will' (*Ennoia*) of one Philippus, set in a niche in the lower storey of the Library of Celsus (LSA 1595); here, within an architectural setting, the use of a low base was standard practice. A unique support is the console for Eutropius (LSA 611) (Fig. 13.2). It is an oblong, re-used block, originally inserted into a wall and clearly intended to support a bust rather than a full-sized statue. Indeed, next to it was found the head and part of the shoulders from such a bust (LSA 690) (Fig. 13.3).

Most of the re-used statue bases were originally intended to bear bronze statues. Alterations to their upper surfaces indicate that the bronze statues were removed⁷ and replaced with marble statues, which were fixed with brackets or clamps.⁸ In some inscriptions—for example, those of Damocharis and Stephanus (LSA 727 and LSA 732)—marble statues are explicitly mentioned in the inscriptions.

⁵ Generally, square bases are the most common type. Throughout the imperial period, however, various small and large forms of rectangular bases were used: Højte (2005: 27–40), with further literature. As at Ephesus, tall rectangular bases were the most frequent type at Aphrodisias (Smith et al. 2006), and, e.g. at Didyma (Filges 2007: 93).

⁶ The vague term 'tall' refers to the relationship of height and width. All bases whose heights are at least a quarter taller than their widths may be called 'tall'—compare Filges (2007: 93, n. 473).

⁷ e.g. bases for Isidorus (LSA 729), Messalinus (LSA 730), and Julian (LSA 748).

⁸ Cuttings at the edges of the upper sides clearly show where fixings were inserted. These indicate the shapes of the plinths: e.g. Stephanus (LSA 732), Dulcitus (LSA 733), and the physician Alexander (LSA 735). Plinths of marble statues consistently have cuttings for clamps: e.g. LSA 698, 1034, 1036, and 1039.

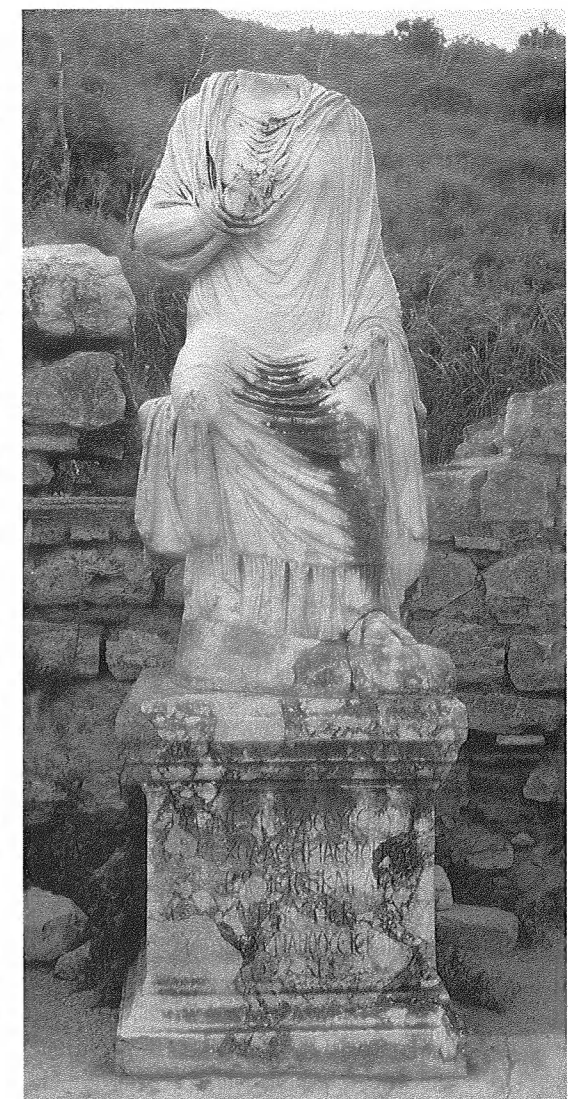


Fig. 13.1 Base and seated statue of Scholastica, Ephesus. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 741, 472. Ephesus, Baths of Scholastica. H: 246 cm.

The bases may be divided into two physical types, monolithic (A) and composite (B).⁹ Six of

⁹ Monolithic and composite bases have often been distinguished as different types (first: Jacob-Felsch 1969: 41–50), but this view is no longer accepted (Filges 2007: 94, with further literature). In reality, the composition of statue bases was determined by economic factors and by the availability of materials: Smith et al. (2006: 33). Nevertheless, the differentiation of the way statue bases were constructed is a useful means of constructing a formal typology: Bigi (2010).

¹ This contribution (statues: J. Auinger; bases: A. Sokolicek) has evolved from a project on Ephesian portraits directed by M. Aurenhammer of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna. We wish to express our thanks to R. R. R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins for the opportunity to present the Ephesian material here. We would like to thank them and M. Aurenhammer, F. Bigi, J. Lenaghan, C. Roueché, and I. Tantillo for invaluable discussions on the statues and the bases.

² The inscriptions on the bases are published in *IEphesos*. The principal bases have been extensively studied, esp. by Foss (1984); Bauer (1996); Feissel (1998); Roueché (2002; 2009). Most of the statuary material was published in Kollwitz (1941); IR I, IR II.

³ e.g. around the base for Aelia Flacilla (LSA 723) are a series of bases that bore statues of Nike (Victory). See below for more details.

⁴ This is impossible to prove categorically, since older inscriptions were generally removed completely. The form of the profiles and the huge number of early imperial bases known to have been set up in Ephesus, however, suggest that it is a correct assumption.

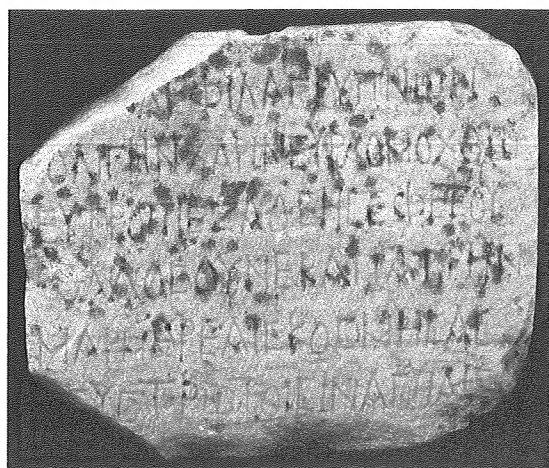


Fig. 13.2 Inscribed console for bust of Eutropius, Ephesus. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 611. Ephesus, Marble Street. H: 32 cm.

the bases are in too poor a state of preservation for the original form to be identified with certainty.¹⁰

Monolithic bases (15) are single blocks that include the shafts and upper and lower mouldings. They range in height from 1.10 m (LSA 714) to 1.78 m (LSA 730). They were set up on plain, flat re-used pedestals (e.g. the base for Messalinus, LSA 730) or on larger (re-used) blocks (e.g. the base for Aelia Flacilla, LSA 723)—depending on the height of the shaft. They are less frequent than composite bases. Two sub-types (A1 and A2) can be discerned: one (A1) has simple profiles, consisting of one sequence of *torus* and *trochilus*; the other (A2) has rich, projecting profiles, with several sequences of *tori* and *trochili*.¹¹

Composite bases (20),¹² with shaft and separately worked upper and lower mouldings, vary

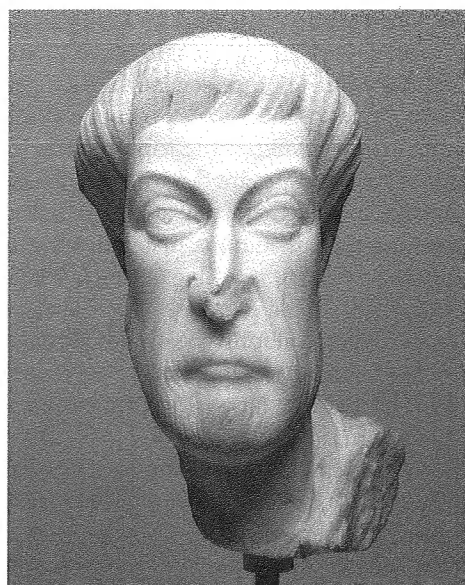


Fig. 13.3 Bust of Eutropius. From Ephesus. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 690. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. I 880. H: 29.5 cm.

in height from 1.05 m (LSA 719) to 1.95 m (LSA 729). In most cases the mouldings do not belong to the original composition; they were assembled from other imperial-period bases.

The late antique use of all these bases can be dated only by means of prosopographical information in their inscriptions. Alterations to the physical structure of the bases are minor and cannot themselves be dated. The earliest are eight bases set up under the tetrarchy (AD 284–306).¹³ Seven of these honour individual tetrarchs. Only one from this period is non-imperial, set up for the governor of Asia, L. Artorius Pius Maximus

¹⁰ Damocharis (LSA 661), Julian (LSA 713), Flacilla (LSA 745), Stephanus (LSA 747), Constantius I (LSA 2080), and Constantius II (LSA 2086).

¹¹ Type A1 (5): Flacilla (LSA 723), Alexander (LSA 735), Constans (LSA 739), Constantius II (LSA 2079), and an unpublished fragment. Type A2 (10): Honorius (LSA 711), Andreas (LSA 714), Maximian(?) (LSA 716), Diocletian (LSA 718), Theodosius, governor (LSA 722), Messalinus (LSA 730; backside = 733), Stephanus (LSA 732), Dulcitus (LSA 733; front side = 730), Constans (LSA 744), and unknown emperor (LSA 751).

¹² Constantine I and Crispus (LSA 241), Demeas (LSA 610), Piso (LSA 662), Diocletian (LSA 715), Galerius (LSA 717), Constantius I (LSA 719), Galerius (LSA 720), Theodosius' father (LSA 721), L. Artorius Pius Maximus (LSA 724; front side = 727), Isidorus (LSA 725), Theodorus (LSA 726), Damocharis (LSA 727; back side = 724), Isidorus (LSA 729), Nonnus (LSA 731), Probus (LSA 734), Aedesius (LSA 740), Diocletian (LSA 743), Julian (LSA 748), base or milestone, Constantine II (LSA 749), and proconsul from Italy (LSA 2084).

¹³ LSA 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 724, and 743.

(LSA 724), in 286–98. Eleven of the extant bases can be dated in the succeeding period of the Constantinian dynasty, and nine of them are for emperors.¹⁴ The location of the Constantinian statues suggests that in this period the streets played a less important role than they had previously—and than they would later. Imperial statuary now decorated public buildings, such as the fountain at the Upper Agora (LSA 739 and 2079), the Harbour Gymnasium (LSA 744 and 2080), and the Tetragnon Agora (LSA 713). Non-imperial statuary again is poorly attested. Dulcitus (LSA 733), proconsul of Asia during the reign of Julian, whose base was re-used on Curetes street,¹⁵ and possibly Aedesius (LSA 740) on Marble street are the only examples.

Whereas no base can be dated to the Valentinianic period, the Theodosian era represents a potential spike in late antique statuary at Ephesus. Seven bases can be securely dated on external evidence to the years 379–436.¹⁶ Another fourteen seem to fall within this period.¹⁷ These Theodosian statues were set up exclusively along the streets; there were no (new) statues displayed in public squares.¹⁸

There are no bases for statues honouring emperors in Ephesus later than one for the western emperor Honorius (LSA 711), datable to the period 393–423. As usual in the east, bases for honorands below the level of emperor are extremely difficult to date, but there are a few which seem likely to date from later than the early decades of the fifth century.¹⁹

¹⁴ LSA 241, 713, 733, 739, 740, 744, 748, 749, 2079, 2080, and 2086.

¹⁵ The position of the base when used for Dulcitus is unknown.

¹⁶ LSA 723 and 745 (AD 379–86), 721 (AD 379–87), 711 (AD 393–423), 662 and 725 (AD 405–10), 729 (AD 410–36).

¹⁷ LSA 610, 661, 714, 722, 727, 730, 731, 732, 734, 735, 742, 747, 1595, and 2084.

¹⁸ The phenomenon of 'frozen places', in which no new statuary was set up, is known elsewhere and has been broadly discussed, esp. in Bauer (1996; 2007) and Witschel (2007; 2008).

¹⁹ Four possibilities are: Probus (LSA 734), 'Ennoia' of Philippus (LSA 1595), Damocharis (LSA 661 and 727).

As was normally the case in the capital of a province, the majority of the statues to emperors (which dominate our sample) were erected by imperial office-holders. These were generally the provincial governors, though occasionally others in the imperial service, ranging from a *rationalis* (LSA 715) up to two praetorian prefects (LSA 241), also set up statues to their masters. The city itself was little involved in the dedication of imperial statuary, though it was the *boulē* and *demos* of Ephesus that set up two statues to Aelia Flacilla, the wife of Theodosius I (LSA 723 and 745). The city and its institutions were much more involved in the dedication of the second largest group of statues, those for the governors of the province. From Ephesus we also have interesting, if limited, evidence of statues set up for governors by groups below the level of the city's main institutions: one governor, Damocharis, received a statue from the money-changers of the province (LSA 727), while another, Theodorus, was honoured by a group that described itself as 'the young men, lovers of the Embolos' (LSA 726).

THE MATERIAL: STATUES AND BUSTS

The surviving sculpted evidence from Ephesus includes statues that were produced in late antiquity and high-imperial statues that were transformed and assembled anew on bases in late antiquity (e.g. Alexander, LSA 736, Fig. 13.4, and Scholastica, LSA 741, Fig. 13.1). The main totals of surviving material are as follows: 17 torsos,²⁰ 22 heads,²¹ 6 busts,²² and 1 possible shield portrait (Menander, LSA 680).

The types of re-used high-imperial statues include himation statues (Damocharis, LSA 728, and the physician Alexander, LSA 736), cuirassed

²⁰ LSA 684, 698, 728, 736, 737 (head = 708), 738, 741, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1122, 1123, 1590, and 1596.

²¹ LSA 315, 553, 679, 681, 682, 683, 687, 688, 689, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 699, 700, 702, 703, 706, 709, and 1093. Three further heads are allegedly from Ephesus: LSA 704, 705, and 2830.

²² LSA 690, 697, 707, 1095, 1096, and 2107.

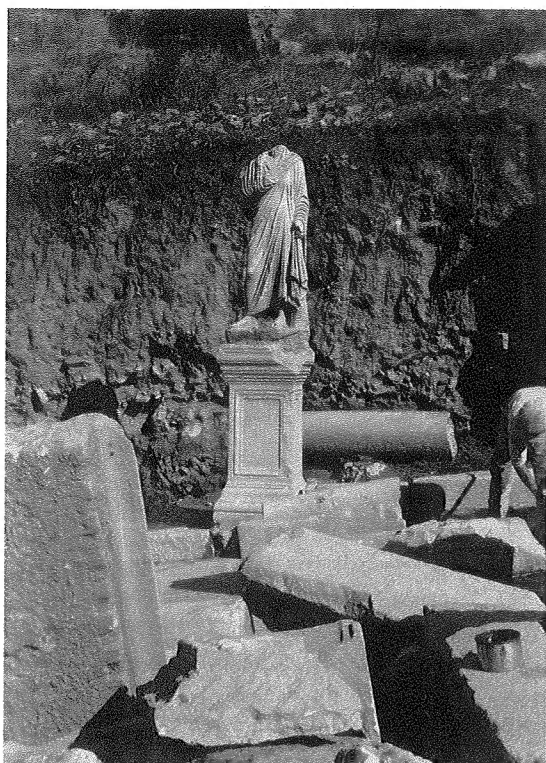


Fig. 13.4 Base and statue of doctor Alexander, Ephesus. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 735, 736. Ephesus, Embolos. H: 327 cm.

statues (LSA 1122 and 1123) (Figs 13.5 and 13.6), draped female statues,²³ and one Nike in bronze (LSA 738). High-imperial statues that were not modified and whose subjects were not changed but remained visible in late antiquity—for example, the statues in the facade of the Celsus library,²⁴ in nymphaea, or in bath buildings²⁵—have not been included in LSA.

The statues produced *ex novo* in late antiquity almost all wear the new late antique toga (seven statues and four busts).²⁶ There is, however, also



Fig. 13.5 Cuirassed statue of Constantius II or Constantians. From Ephesus. 340–50, LSA 1122. Izmir, Archaeological Museum, inv. 7. H: 160 cm.

one statue in the new chlamys (LSA 1590), and another that wears the traditional himation (LSA 737, to which belongs the head LSA 708). It is, in fact, a version of a statue also found at Aphrodisias (LSA 215, Fig. 12.7; see Chapter 12, Smith).

Nine of the portrait heads have been reworked from portraits made in the high-imperial period. Five of these belong to the tetrarchic period,²⁷ two in the reign of Constantine the Great (LSA 553 and 683), one head around AD 400 (LSA 679), and another after AD 500 (LSA 698). The other thirteen heads were most likely newly made in



Fig. 13.6 Cuirassed statue of Constans or Constantius II. From Ephesus. 340–50, LSA 1123. Izmir, Archaeological Museum, inv. 6. H: 134 cm.

late antiquity.²⁸ Five can be dated in the years around AD 400.²⁹ One bust was recarved from a statue of a late antique togatus.³⁰

One of the main problems concerning late antique sculpture from Ephesus is the establishment of a consistent chronology. The material lacks a clear chronological framework provided by externally dated examples. Moreover, only a few of the sculptures were found in situ or in a clear 'fall-position', and much of the material also lacks detailed records of the find-circumstances. This in turn has implications for the interpretation

²⁸ A controversial view is expressed by Prusac (2011) concerning LSA 688, 694, 697, 702, and 706, which she considers to have been reworked from earlier portraits.

²⁹ LSA 680 (Menander), 700, 705, 708 (joined to body, 737), and 2107 (Socrates).

³⁰ LSA 1096.

and reconstruction of the original settings of the statues and for the study of their function and significance.³¹

Because of this problematic point of departure, research concentrated at first mainly on the arrangement of groups in terms of style and workmanship. Two broad groups of portraits can be defined in the fourth-fifth century (without discussion of their relative chronology): (1) a group from the workshop that produced the portrait of Eutropius (Fig. 13.3),³² and (2) a group characterized by exaggerated facial expression.³³ A couple of portraits and headless *togati* found at Ephesus seem to be linked to workshops based at Aphrodisias and may, therefore, be more securely dated, due to the rich evidence of that city (see Chapter 12, Smith), in the late fifth and early sixth centuries.³⁴ The latest Ephesian portraits, among them the portrait head mounted on the (earlier) statue of Stephanus (LSA 698) (Fig. 13.7), were probably carved in the reign of emperor Justinian.³⁵

THE CONTEXT OF BASES AND STATUES

The late antique bases were found all around the public spaces of Ephesus, especially in the streets and at or in public buildings (Fig. 13.8). The hotspots are the Curetes street, the Stadion street, and the Marble street, where twenty-nine bases were unearthed in total.³⁶ Most of these bases

³¹ Discussion for Ephesus: Auinger and Aurenhammer (2010).

³² The Eutropius group has been discussed by Auinger (2003). Examples from Ephesus: LSA 320, 690, 691, 692, 693, 709, and 1093.

³³ This group was identified by Oberleitner (1964–5). Examples from Ephesus: LSA 688, 689, 702, and 703.

³⁴ The himation statue LSA 737 (head: LSA 708) is similar to LSA 215 from Aphrodisias. Equally, the *togatus* LSA 1038 resembles Pytheas LSA 147 from Aphrodisias. The busts LSA 697 and LSA 707 may come from an Aphrodisian workshop.

³⁵ LSA 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, and 707.

³⁶ Curetes street: tetrarchic—LSA 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, and 724; Constantinian—LSA 733; Theodosian—LSA 721, 722, 723, 726, 727, 729, 730, 732, 734, and 735. Marble street: Constantinian—LSA 740; Theodosian—LSA 610, 611, 714, and 731. Stadion street: Constantinian—LSA 748 and 2086; Theodosian—LSA 661 (close to street), 662, 745, and

²³ LSA 684, 741 (Scholastica), and 1596 (Ennoia).

²⁴ The Ennoia is the only statue with a clearly late antique base (LSA 1596).

²⁵ Auinger and Rathmayr (2007); Auinger (2011).

²⁶ Statues: LSA 698, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, and 1039. Busts: LSA 697, 707, 1095, and 1096.

²⁷ LSA 315, 681, 682, 687, and 699.

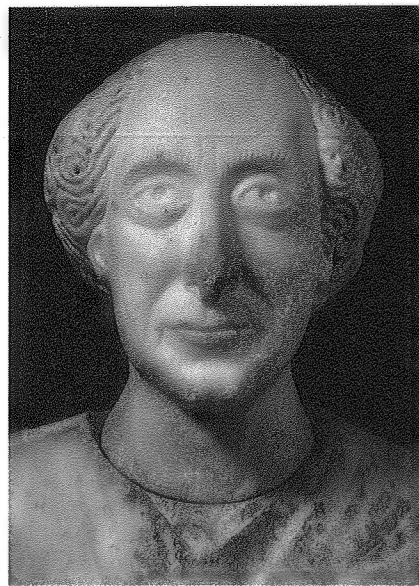


Fig. 13.7 Head on togate statue, perhaps of Stephanus. From Ephesus. Sixth century(?), LSA 698. Selçuk, Ephesus Museum, inv. 1402.

were found in situ or in a fallen position near their original locations. Public buildings such as the baths of Scholastica (LSA 742), the Harbour baths (LSA 744 and 2080), the Nymphaeum Traiani (LSA 459), the Hydreion at the east end of the Curetes street (LSA 715 and 716), the fountain at the Upper Agora (LSA 739 and 2079), and the Library of Celsus (LSA 478 and LSA 1595) have produced ten bases, either in the facades (nymphaeum, library), inside (Scholastica and Harbour baths), or in front of the buildings (Hydreion and fountain on Upper Agora). Only one base has been unearthed in a public square (Tetragonos Agora, LSA 713). The one base found in the rubble of the theatre (LSA 743)

cannot be attributed to this building with certainty.

Two bases were built into the walls of the church of St John (LSA 725 and 747), while another was re-used in the walls of the Byzantine citadel on Ayasoluk (LSA 749). The find-spots of two bases (LSA 241 and an unpublished fragment) are unknown.

Of all the contexts with late antique statuary, the Curetes street has the most interesting collection of statue finds (Fig. 13.9).³⁷ It was the main zone for statue representation in late antique Ephesus³⁸ and a place where some original assemblages of statues and bases can be reconstructed—some statues were found here fallen from their bases. These examples show us how the Ephesians handled their statues, how they re-used earlier sculpture, and where they presented new statuary. The Stadion street also played a vital role for the late antique public, but there, only bases and no sculpture have come to light. The majority of surviving late statues were excavated on the Curetes and Marble streets.³⁹ Three heads, including a colossal portrait of Licinius, were found in the Theatre;⁴⁰ a head and a small fragment of a bust in the Basilica Stoa;⁴¹ and two re-used cuirassed statues on the Upper Agora (LSA 1122 and 1123) (Figs 13.5 and 13.6). Fragments of eight portraits were found in various bath buildings,⁴² which were partially rebuilt and used until the fifth or sixth centuries. There are four late antique busts with find-context at Ephesus, and all—except that of Eutropius (LSA 690) (Fig. 13.3), displayed in the stoa on the Marble street—were excavated inside bath buildings.⁴³

³⁷ Auinger (2009); Auinger and Aurenhammer (2010).

³⁸ The epigraphy has been presented in Roueché (2002; 2009).

³⁹ Curetes street: LSA 315, 698, 728, 736, 737(?), and 738. Corner of Marble street/Curetes street: LSA 1037–9 and 1034 (near Library of Celsus). Marble street: LSA 690, 1035, and 1036.

⁴⁰ LSA 687, 691, and 696.

⁴¹ LSA 702 (below a floor) and 707 (fragment in a late antique wall inside the Basilica Stoa).

⁴² Baths of Vedius: LSA 681 and 1093. Baths of Scholastica: LSA 680, 689, 697 (built into the steps to the baths), 741, and 2107(?). Baths at the Upper Agora: LSA 707.

⁴³ Busts from Baths: LSA 697, 707, and 2107.

2084. Tetragonos Agora: Constantinian—LSA 713. Baths: Theodosian—LSA 742 (Scholastica); Constantinian—LSA 744 and 2080 (Harbour). Theatre(?): tetrarchic—LSA 743. Beginning of Harbour street: Theodosian—LSA 711 and 751. Upper Agora: Constantinian—LSA 739 and 2079. Uncertain: Constantinian—LSA 241. Church of St John (presumably taken from the city): Theodosian—LSA 725 and 747. Byzantine citadel (presumably taken from the city): Constantinian—LSA 749.

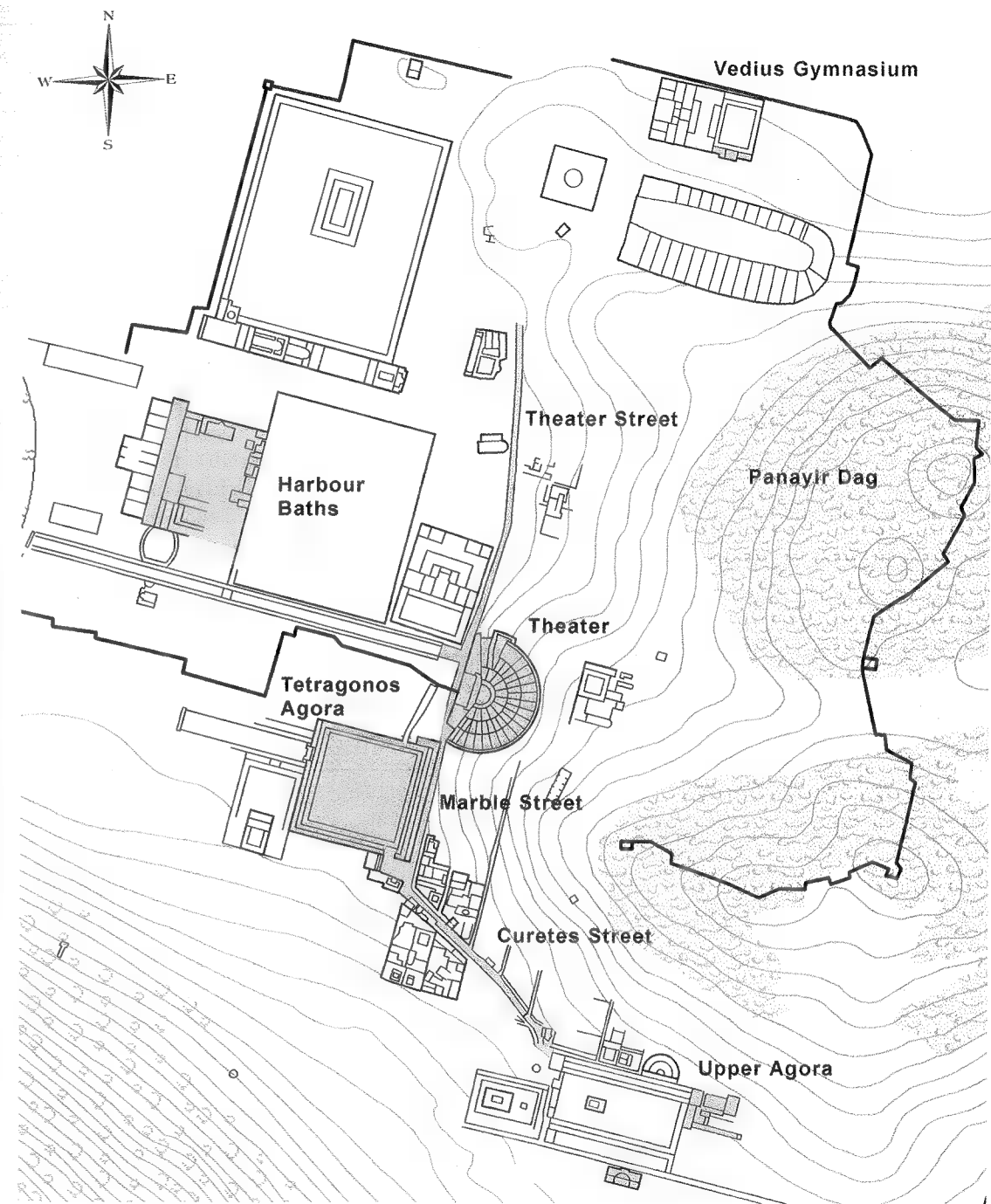


Fig. 13.8 Ephesus. City plan, main public areas. Find places of statues and bases are in grey.

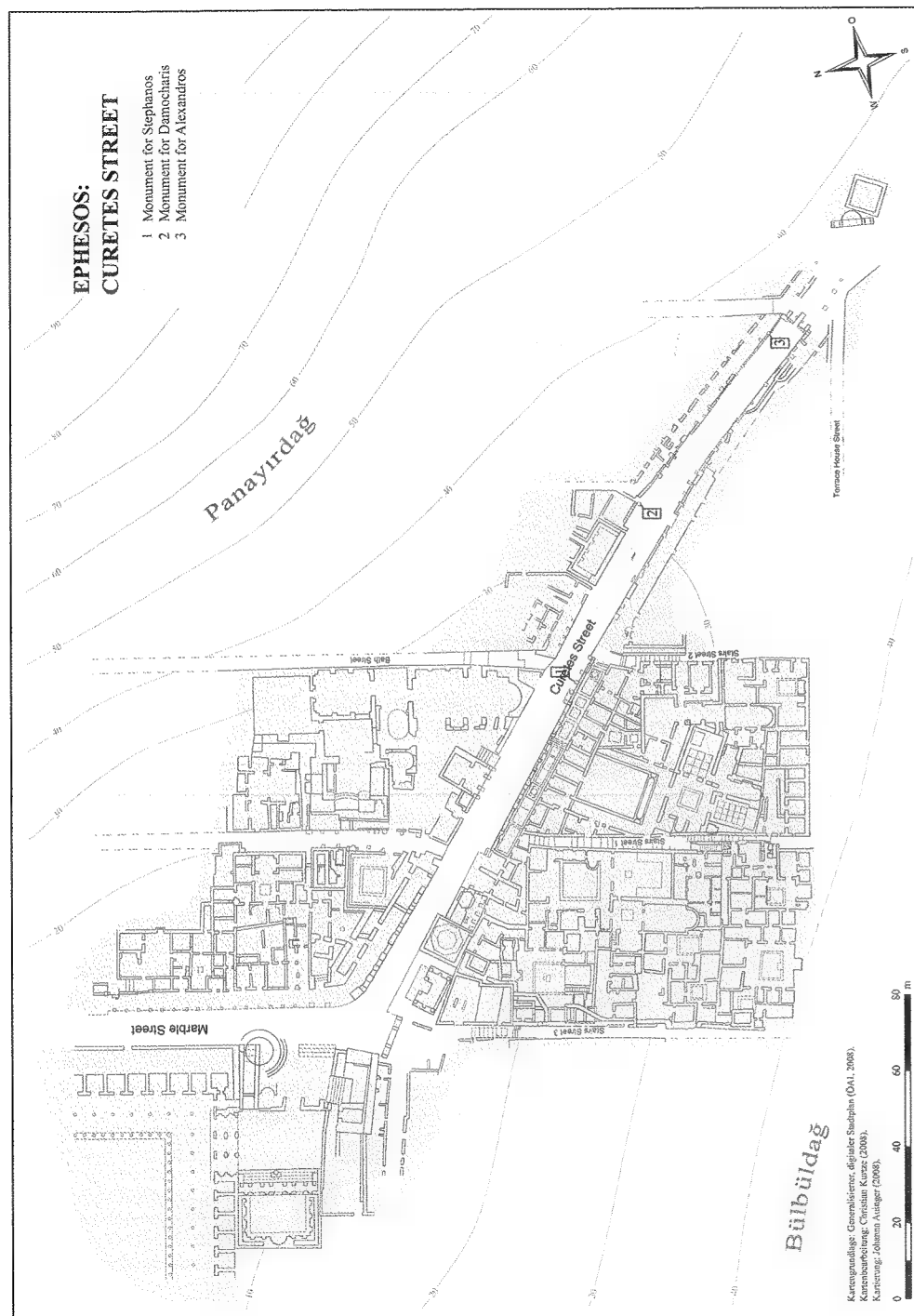


Fig. 13.9 Ephesus. Curetes Street, showing positions of three statue monuments.

Late antique portraits were also discarded in drains (LSA 708) or built into walls (LSA 709), and a few were discovered outside any archaeological context (LSA 688 and 700). No other statue finds can be localized more specifically within Ephesus.⁴⁴

PRESERVED ENSEMBLES

Seven statues were found in the immediate context of their bases during the excavations at Ephesus. On the Marble street, near the Theatre, an inscribed console (LSA 611) was found, and next to it a small head (LSA 690). The inscription on the console mentions a certain Eutropius and his tireless labours for the embellishment of the city's streets. The head is of a highly distinctive style and was certainly from a bust, which can be placed on the console without doubt and thus can be identified as this Eutropius (Figs 13.2 and 13.3).

Three complete monuments were discovered on the Curetes street. In front of the Alytarch's Stoa, a *togatus* (LSA 698) was found in front of a base for one Stephanus (LSA 732). This 'Stephanus monument' is a veritable pastiche of the late fifth or sixth century. The re-used base was deployed in its second use for Stephanus at the beginning of the fifth century; the statue body found next to the base most probably dates from after Stephanus' tenure as a governor. It may then be that the original statue was damaged and replaced in the course of the fifth century, still representing Stephanus. Since Stephanus, who was honoured three times at Ephesus (LSA 487, 732, and 747), was clearly an important figure for the city, it might be supposed care was taken to maintain his monument and his public memory. Alternatively, it is possible that the base was used again, for a (nameless) honorand of the late fifth or sixth century, whose honorific text was perhaps written on plaster smeared over Stephanus' inscription. The statue

body was carved some time in the fifth century, and would then have been re-used for a second time for the nameless honorand. The head too was an earlier portrait of uncertain date that was deployed in second or third use for the nameless honorand (or possibly still for Stephanus, as part of a later renewal of his monument?). It was attached to the shoulders of the statue in an awkward and distinctive 'late' late antique manner (Fig. 13.7).⁴⁵

In the case of the monument for one Damocharis (LSA 727), found on the Curetes street east of the Nymphaeum Traiani, a new inscription was carved onto the back of a tetrarchic base for L. Artorius Pius Maximus (LSA 724). The statue found nearby is a high-quality re-used himation statue of the early imperial period (LSA 728). The head, worked separately and inserted, and the feet and plinth are missing (Fig. 13.10).

Another re-used Roman himation statue (LSA 736) was found on the north side of the Curetes street at its eastern end; its base honours the physician Alexander (LSA 735) (Fig. 13.4). He was possibly part of a large group honouring Aelia Flacilla. This 'Flacilla group' consists of a base for the empress in the middle of a series of eight bases that bore statues of Nike.⁴⁶ The Nike bases are high imperial in date, but were (re) assembled and set up in late antiquity, presumably when Flacilla's statue was erected.⁴⁷ The statues of the Nikai themselves have not been preserved, apart from one bronze fragment (LSA 738), which had been remodelled in late antiquity, probably into a portrait.⁴⁸ It seems,

⁴⁵ Detailed discussion in Auinger (2009: 33–4); see also Ch. 8 (Lenaghan). On the attachment method of the head, see Ch. 1 (Smith), under 'Neck tenons'.

⁴⁶ The statue of Alexander (LSA 736) stood in front of a stoa, which was destroyed before the 7th c. It is interesting that the statue remained in situ right up to the time when the stoa was demolished, and was found directly above the destruction layer of the building.

⁴⁷ Roueché (2002).

⁴⁸ The draped legs of the bronze Nike statue (LSA 738) were found next to the bases at the east end of the Curetes street. Horizontal drapery added later around the figure's hips might be interpreted as an addition for changing the statue into a portrait.

⁴⁴ In these cases, there is no evidence in the Ephesus excavation archives of the circumstances of discovery. One head was found at the Isabey Camii in Selçuk (LSA 682).

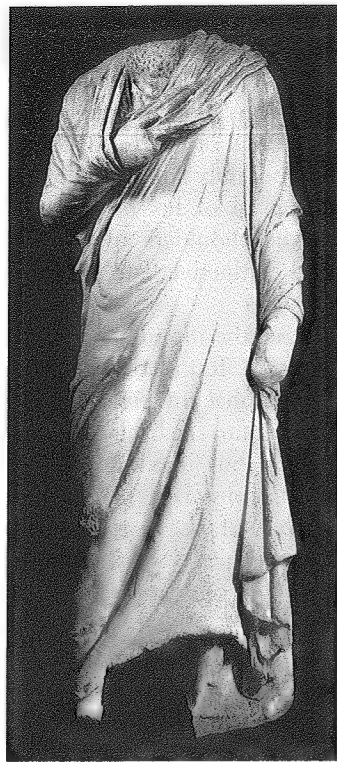


Fig. 13.10 Himation statue re-used for governor Damocharis. From Ephesus. Mid-fifth century, LSA 728. Selçuk, Ephesus Museum, inv. 770. H: 186 cm.

however, improbable that the other statues of Nike, mentioned in the inscriptions on the bases, were also remodelled. The imperial inscriptions were not changed.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the rearrangement of the Nikai around the statue of Flacilla put them into a Christian environment, and in addition might have changed the 'identity' of the Nikai from pagan to Christian symbols of victory.⁵⁰ Another remnant of a bronze statue—part of a right foot and its toes—was found attached to the upper part of the base for Galerius

⁴⁹ There are no remains of plaster or such material on the surfaces of these bases, and this suggests they were not furnished with new inscriptions.

⁵⁰ The naked foot of a bronze statue, found near the Nike mentioned above and still attached to the base for another Nike, belongs to this group as well. Detailed discussion: Auinger (2009: 38, fig. 25).

in front of Hadrian's temple (LSA 720).⁵¹ At an uncertain date, the facade of the Library of Celsus was refurbished with re-used statues by a certain Philippus. A personification of his 'Good Will' (*Ennoia*), a high imperial female statue (LSA 1596), was placed on a re-used base (LSA 1595).

A small bath at the north side of the Curetes street was renovated by one Scholastica in the Theodosian period. She was honoured with a high-quality, re-used, high imperial seated statue on a base, set up inside the bath (LSA 741 and 742) (Fig. 13.1).

Two bases (LSA 739 and 2079) (Figs 13.11 and 13.12) attest a renovation of the so-called fountain on the Upper Agora in the reign of Constantius II and Constans. Two re-used second-century cuirassed statues (LSA 1122 and 1123) (Figs 13.5 and 13.6) have been assumed to represent the emperors on the inscribed bases. The bases, however, seem too slender for the massive, over-life-size statues, so here, the association of statues and bases remains uncertain.

CONCLUSIONS

Ephesus is one of the principal sites for the study of late antique statuary. The material consists of inscribed bases, headless statues, separately preserved portrait heads, and busts. Whereas a significant number of new statues were produced anew in late antiquity, all bases are re-used. The find contexts of bases and statues differ widely. Most of the forty-five bases were found in their original locations or nearby, whereas only seven out of possibly forty-eight sculptures, most of them fragmentary, were found in situ or next to their presumed position.

Although the number of tetrarchic and Constantinian bases in Ephesus is comparable with empire-wide figures, the probable peak of statue honours set up in the late fourth to early fifth

⁵¹ This is documented in a photo in the archives of the Austrian Archaeological Institute (photo no. 1968-613, 2). The foot has been removed; now only some remains of the lead are visible in the place where the right foot was attached.

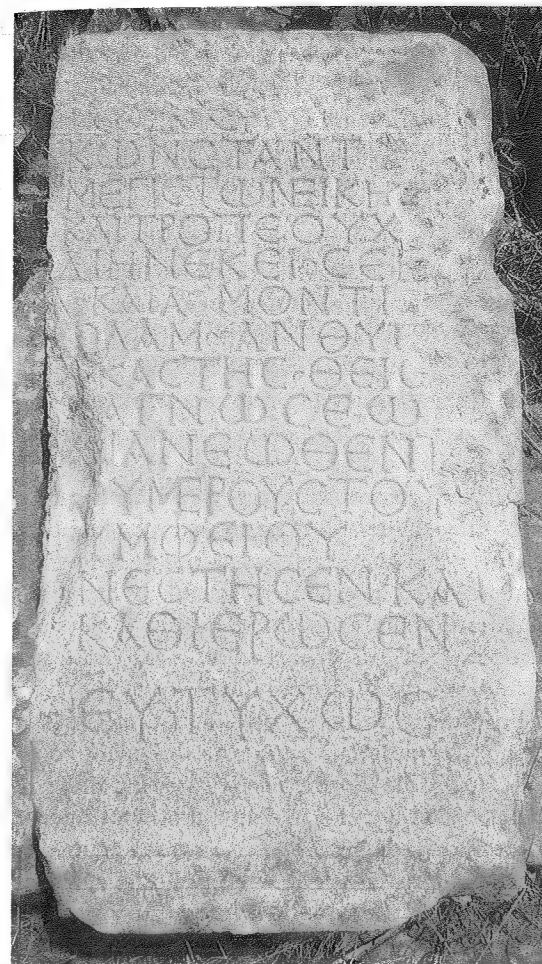


Fig. 13.11 Base for statue of Constantius II, Ephesus. 340–50, LSA 2079. Ephesus, Stoa Basilike, inv. 5322. H: 85.5 cm.

century stands out as exceptional. At Ephesus, the bases generally dated to the Theodosian period (7 secure, 14 probable = 21) are more than double those of the tetrarchic times (8), and significantly more than those set up under the Constantinian dynasty (11). In Theodosian-period bases, compared to other cities in the empire, Ephesus ranks second behind Rome (78). The only place coming close to Ephesus is Gortyna in Crete, with 15 bases; but these can be attributed to the activity of a single, energetic

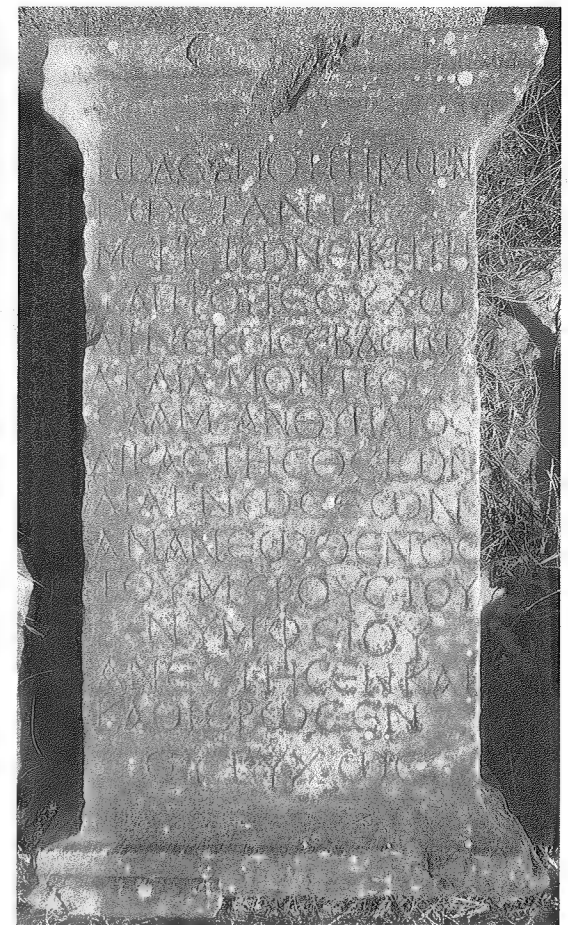


Fig. 13.12 Base for statue of Constans, Ephesus. 340–50, LSA 739. Ephesus, State Agora. H: 87 cm.

governor, who loved putting up statues (see Chapter 17, Bigi and Tantillo).

The standard dating of the inscribed bases and the surviving statues do not correspond. Whereas no base can be securely dated after 410–36 (LSA 729), sculpture, dated on stylistic grounds, was apparently still being produced into the sixth century. The discrepancy is interesting, and might give us reason to reassess the current dating of some of the latest sculpture from Ephesus. This is of special interest, for example, for a

group characterized by exaggerated facial expressions that has been dated to the sixth century on the basis of its style.⁵² The lack of clear epigraphic evidence for new statuary at Ephesus in the sixth century may lend support to those scholars who have wanted to place these heads at an earlier date.⁵³

Not all statuary, of course, had inscriptions. There are two busts (LSA 697 and 707) that were in a private context or in baths and do not have inscriptions. It is also possible that, in general, inscriptions were also written in mosaics or on architecture and were not restricted to bases. This phenomenon is apparent at the Library of Celsus (LSA 487), the Nymphaeum Traiani (LSA 459), and in a tessellated inscription from a mosaic floor in the baths of the Upper Agora.⁵⁴

At Ephesus, the full context of statuary honours can be assessed: the archaeological context of the object and its setting on a base, including the epigraphic data; the surroundings of the statue and its possible connections to other nearby statues; and the wider context of its setting within a building or on a street or square. In late antique Ephesus, it was generally the streets that were favoured as the setting for statues. Only in Constantinian times, it seems, were squares and buildings also adorned with new statuary.

The context of the statues from the Curetes street (Fig. 13.9) tells us more precisely how long they stood for. The statue of the physician Alexander (LSA 736) (Fig. 13.4), placed in front of a stoa at the east end of the Curetes street, which was destroyed before the seventh century, remained in its position until the stoa was demolished. It was found directly above the destruction layer of the building. The 'Stephanus' statue (LSA 698), found on the street at the Alytarch's Stoa, was excavated lying on its front above a layer of earth more than 30 cm deep. The find-contexts of these statues show that they were still standing in position when the buildings of the Curetes street started to collapse.⁵⁵

The history of another statue also shows the longevity of sculpture on the streets of Ephesus. In 1998, some parts of a large ancient drainage channel at the Tetragnos Agora were excavated. During this work an over-life-size male head was discovered (LSA 708). The head was found in the last layer that filled the drain, on top of a layer dating to the sixth century, when the drain was no longer in use; the head, which is well preserved, must have been deposited after the sixth century. It belongs on the torso of a himation statue (LSA 737) that had already been found in 1904 during the Austrian excavations in the lower or western part of the Curetes street (the area of the western Embolos). This result is important in various respects. The *disiecta membra* of the statue and their stratigraphic contexts tell us when the statue went out of use. This evidence does not necessarily tell us how long exactly this statue stood for, but we can assume that the head was deposited after the drain was abandoned in the sixth century.

From east to west on the Curetes street, groups of different sizes can be identified.⁵⁶ In front of the Hydreion, two bases honouring Diocletian (LSA 715) and an unknown emperor, possibly Maximian (LSA 716), were set up. The north side of the same street was dominated by the prominent group of ten bases with a statue of Aelia Flacilla (LSA 723) at its centre. Further west, on the south side of the street, another group with a total of eight statues can be reconstructed in front of the stoa dedicated by an Alytarch.⁵⁷ This group included the famous 'Stephanus' monument (LSA 698), which can be placed on the third base (LSA 732) from the east in this series. The inscriptions on the bases next to the re-used Stephanus base inform us of lost statues of a certain Messalinus (LSA 730) and one Probus (LSA 734), persons of public prominence, probably of the fifth century. The rest of the group is attested only by a series of square pedestals in front of the stoa. The bases and

statues which stood on these pedestals have not been found. The context of this group, set up in front of a stoa, resembles the situation of the 'Flacilla group'. This evidence is of great interest because the building of the stoa, and its associated statue group, can be dated to the years shortly after AD 410.

Diagonally across from the 'Stephanus' group, bases to the tetrarchs (Diocletian, LSA 718; Constantius I, LSA 719; and Galerius, LSA 720) were aligned in front of the Temple of Hadrian. On the upper side of the base for Galerius (LSA 720) a bronze foot was found. A fourth base, honouring the father of the emperor Theodosius (LSA 721), probably replaced a (lost) base for a missing tetrarch whose memory was condemned, such as Maximian.

A pair of statues flanking the sides of the Octagon honour Fl. Anthemius Isidorus (LSA 729) on its west side and an anonymous person on its east side.⁵⁸ Only two individuals were honoured on the Curetes street with stand-alone bases: Damocharis, proconsul of the province (LSA 727 with 728), and Theodosius, probably governor of Asia (LSA 722).⁵⁹ In the public spaces of Ephesus, imperial statue groups and non-imperial statuary were kept separate. The locations of the various statue groups show how the positioning of statues was carefully determined.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ The base is not inscribed; possibly it was painted.

⁵⁹ On the Stadion street, no groups can be identified; here, there are only individual bases—Constantinian: LSA 748 and 2086; Theodosian: LSA 661 (close to street), 662, 745, and 2084.

⁶⁰ Discussion and detailed arguments: Auinger (2009: 39–40).

⁵² LSA 688, 689, 702, and 703. Sande (1975: 102–3).

⁵³ Oberleitner (1964–5: 16); IR I, 150–51.

⁵⁴ Scheibelreiter (2006: 36–7).

⁵⁵ Auinger (2009).

⁵⁶ Imperial groups: Roueché (2002; 2009). Office-holders: Auinger (2009); Quatember et al. (2009).

⁵⁷ Quatember et al. (2009).

Corinth

Amelia Brown

INTRODUCTION

Late antique Corinth was crowded with marble and bronze public portraits both old and new, as the statue bodies, limbs, heads, and bases excavated there over the last century reveal.^{1, 2} From the later third to the fifth centuries AD, Corinthians continued to honour local and imperial benefactors with both newly carved and reworked public portraits. These 'last statues' of Corinth were erected in the city's traditional areas of public display: around the Agora; along the Lechaum Road; in baths and sanctuaries; and at her two harbours, Lechaum and Cenchreae (Figs 14.1 and 14.2). Although only a few of the surviving statue elements and bases come from primary contexts of display, the quantity and concentration of statuary finds in specific areas of the ancient city indicate that late antique portraits, just like their Roman imperial predecessors, were discarded or re-used close to their original places of display.³

¹ Thanks to G. Sanders, Director of the Corinth Excavations, the staff and scholars at Corinth, and B. Ward-Perkins and R. R. R. Smith of the 'Last Statues of Antiquity' (LSA) project. Corinth inventory numbers listed below under I- or S- can be used to locate the relevant object on ascsa.net.

² General catalogue of Corinthian sculpture: *Corinth IX.1*. Roman portrait catalogue: de Grazia (1973). Late antique portrait studies: Johnson (1924); Ridgway (1981); de Grazia Vanderpool (2003).

³ de Grazia (1973: 341–7) notes a concentration of late antique portrait find-spots at Corinth on the west side of the Agora and along the Lechaum Road.

It is therefore possible to restore this corpus of late antique public sculpture broadly to its original display context, linking statue bodies and heads with the kind of bases on which they once stood, and combining surviving statues with the architectural and textual evidence for late antique Corinth.⁴ The result is a late antique Corinthian public sculpture landscape of new, old, and reworked statues, standing on bases inside and outside colonnades, basilicas, baths, and other public buildings.

Many of the statues depicted the resident proconsul (*anthypatos*) of Achaia, the imperial governor of Roman Greece, while other honorands included emperors, high imperial office-holders, and local Corinthian benefactors. Provincial governors strove to earn a statue at the end of their (often short) terms of office and were encouraged by the prominent display of existing statues and their poetic laudatory inscriptions to emulate those so honoured.⁵ Other portrait statues were probably intended, as elsewhere, to earn or reward benefactions, especially those related to infrastructure construction and public festivals; to compete with other cities for imperial attention; and to remind local grandees of their civic responsibilities (whether fulfilled or not). Many

⁴ Scranton (1957); Rothaus (2000); Sanders (2004; 2005); Brown (2008).

⁵ *Symm. Rel.* 12 and *Symm. Ep.* 2.36.2; Ammianus 14.6.8; Stewart (2007).

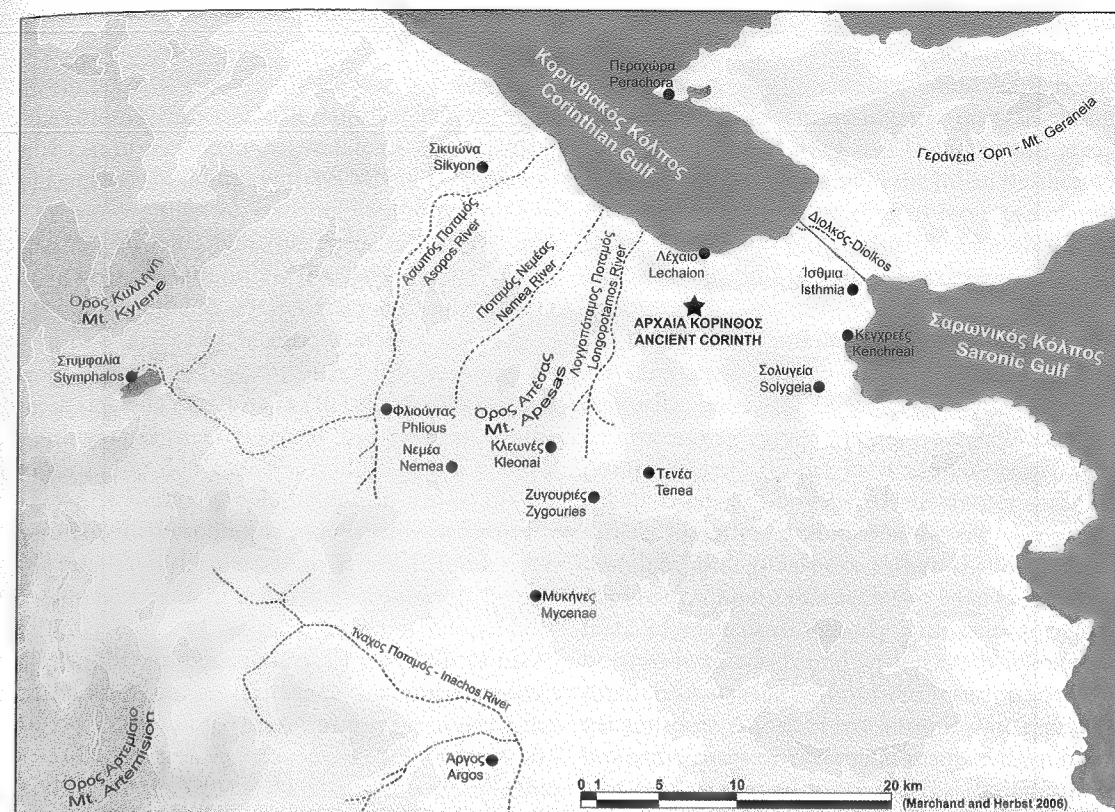


Fig. 14.1 Map of the Corinthia, showing positions of Ancient Corinth, harbours of Lechaum and Cenchreae, and sanctuary of Isthmia.

people beyond the honorands participated in the Corinthian sculpture landscape. Perhaps Corinth, as Rome, had an office-holder from the boule who cared for the city's statues and supervised the funds and workmen.⁶ At the very least, some sort of civic decision-making body surely existed in Corinth into the fifth century to direct local craftsmen in the creation and erection of new statues. Marble is heavy, and it is not found naturally at Corinth, so the organization of the transport, carving, and display of new public portraits most likely demanded a complex network of late antique Corinthian marble craftsmen

and civic authorities. The local populace may also have benefited from festivities associated with the dedications of statues or the regular distribution of largesse left by their honorands.⁷ New portrait statues only ceased being made at Corinth in the later fifth or early sixth century, as the bishop of Corinth replaced the proconsul and the boule as leader of the city. From the sixth century onwards, imperial and Christian authorities plundered Corinth's public spaces of statuary for building material for churches, fortification walls, and road paving.⁸

⁶ Care of statues: Chastagnol (1960: 33–42, 363–8); Alchermes (1994: 171); Lepelley (1994); Witschel (2007).

⁷ *Parastaseis* 81; *IAPH2007* 11.110; Stewart (2003); Pont (2008).

⁸ Brown (forthcoming).

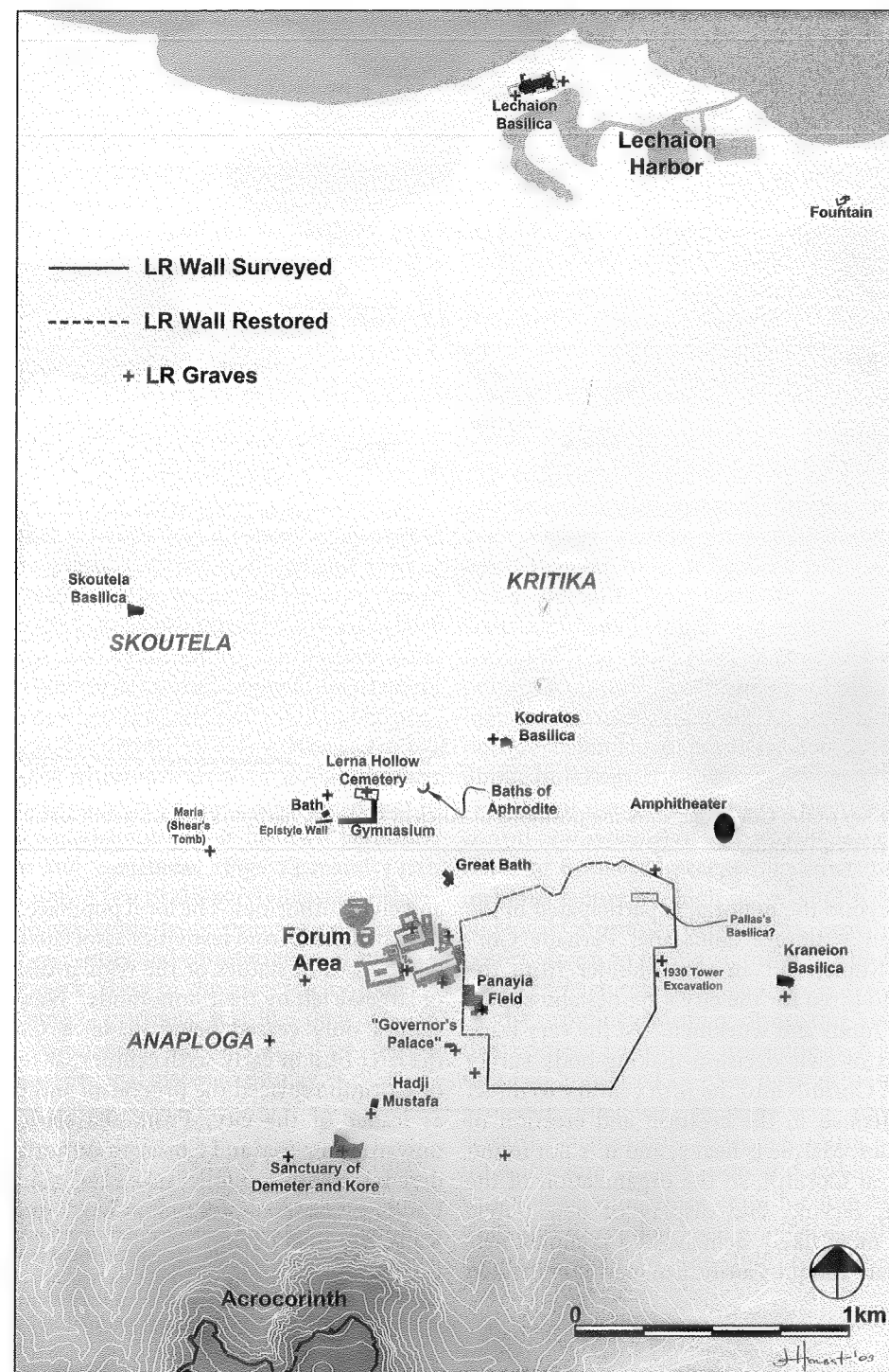


Fig. 14.2 Corinth. Map showing monuments of Roman and Late Roman periods and course of Late Roman (LR) city wall.

THE AGORA

Corinth's central public space was still the Agora (the colonial Roman Forum) until at least the mid-fifth century: an open rectangular space flanked by old and new buildings with varied (and often overlapping) commercial, civic, and cultural functions (Fig. 14.3). Although this space is today dusty, open ground with only a few paving slabs in situ, surviving statue bases and fragments allow us to restore a forest of late antique statues standing in front of the colonnades which lined the Agora on three sides. Gates at its northeast, northwest, and southwest corners directed the flow of traffic towards the Bema, at the middle of the Central Shops, and along colonnades in front of the South Stoa, West Shops, and Northwest Shops.⁹

Three civic basilicas also stood behind these colonnades, offering further public space for commerce and government administration, notably for the proconsul of Achaia and the boule.¹⁰ Early imperial portraits and inscribed dedications were found largely around the ruins of the so-called Julian Basilica on the east side of the Agora.¹¹ Portraits of Augustus, his grandsons, two nude emperors, and Nero were displayed until the destruction of this building in the fifth century, while two cuirassed statues from this building were repeatedly recut around their neck sockets, probably to receive new portrait heads of third- and fourth-century emperors.¹² When the Julian Basilica was ruined, the Southeast Building was built over its south aisle and apparently took up some of its civic functions.¹³

⁹ Scranton (1957: 1–26).

¹⁰ Julian Basilica, Southeast Building, and South Basilica: Weinberg (1960); Scotton (1997). Southwest Basilica: Robinson and Weinberg (1960). Lechaion Road Basilica: Stillwell et al. (1941: 55–88); Scranton (1957: 5); Hill (1964: 118).

¹¹ See Scotton (1997: 244–55) on early to high imperial statues and inscriptions from the Julian Basilica, including dedications to the imperial family.

¹² Cuirassed torsos S-1125 and S-1081 and other statues: Corinth IX.1, nos 134–58; de Grazia (1973: 16–20, 87–121, 302–4, 314–19, 328–33, nos 10–13, 99, 103, 107–8); Pollini (1987); Scotton (1997: 255–61).

¹³ Weinberg (1960: 3–31); Scotton (1997: 140).

A late bust, possibly wearing a chlamys (LSA 20), was found here. This bust, which shows evidence of successive portrait heads, could have been a mount for a fifth-century imperial portrait, though only one battered head was found in this area.¹⁴ R. L. Scranton once thought the Julian Basilica was modified in the fifth century to serve as a church, but P. D. Scotton judges that the apse on the east and the vaulted tombs here post-date late antiquity.¹⁵

On the south side of the Agora (Fig. 14.3), a similar pattern prevailed in the fourth and fifth centuries, with existing portrait bodies modified to take newly carved bearded heads of contemporary style.¹⁶ Rather than the cuirasses of the Julian Basilica, however, these statues wear the Greek himation and probably represent local grandees and governors rather than emperors. A himation figure that seems to have been carved from a female portrait body with a slot for a new portrait head was found within the Bouleuterion itself (LSA 2311).¹⁷ About ten inscriptions from the southern Agora of late antique date represent honorific bases or revetment plaques from bases. The best-preserved bases are for the late third-century *hegemon* Cl. Leonticus Illyrius, a governor of Achaia (LSA 60), and an anonymous fourth-century *anthypatos* who received a 'gleaming image' as an 'attendant of the Muses on Hy(mettus)' (LSA 58) (Fig. 14.4).¹⁸

¹⁴ S-1141 (LSA 20). Worn head S-1118 dated by de Grazia (1973: 121–2, no. 14) to the Julio-Claudian period, but could be 4th-c. S-1991–2, fragments of drapery, from Agora Southwest may also be part of a *chlamydatus* bust.

¹⁵ Scranton (1957); Scotton (1997: 67–106).

¹⁶ S-2186 (LSA 68), a 5th-c. head, now lost; S-2195 (LSA 69), a head fragment with hair, right ear and beard, 2nd half of 5th c.

¹⁷ S-2224, Brown (2012: 168, fig. 23).

¹⁸ (1) I-1354 (LSA 60), *hegemon*/Illyrius. (2) I-1752, I-2264 (LSA 58), identified with Herodes Atticus, but by script to 4th c. (3) I-1768 (LSA 18), columnar statue base for Theodorus, possibly a governor. (4) I-1205, SEG 11.125; Corinth VIII.3, no. 269 (Peducaeus Cestianus). (5) I-1381b etc., Corinth VIII.3, no. 274 (L. Vet. Pop.). (6) I-1471, I-1472, Corinth VIII.3, no. 273; Rizakis et al. (2001: 265), Corinthia no. 73. (7) I-2111, Corinth VIII.3, no. 473 (official of the East?). (8) I-2118 joined with I-1974–4, Martin (1977: 189–95, no. 10, pl. 52) (*cursus honorum*). (9) I-2249, Corinth VIII.3, no. 501 (*erjatisiofn*). (10) I-1211, Corinth VIII.3, no. 514 (6th-c. construction?).

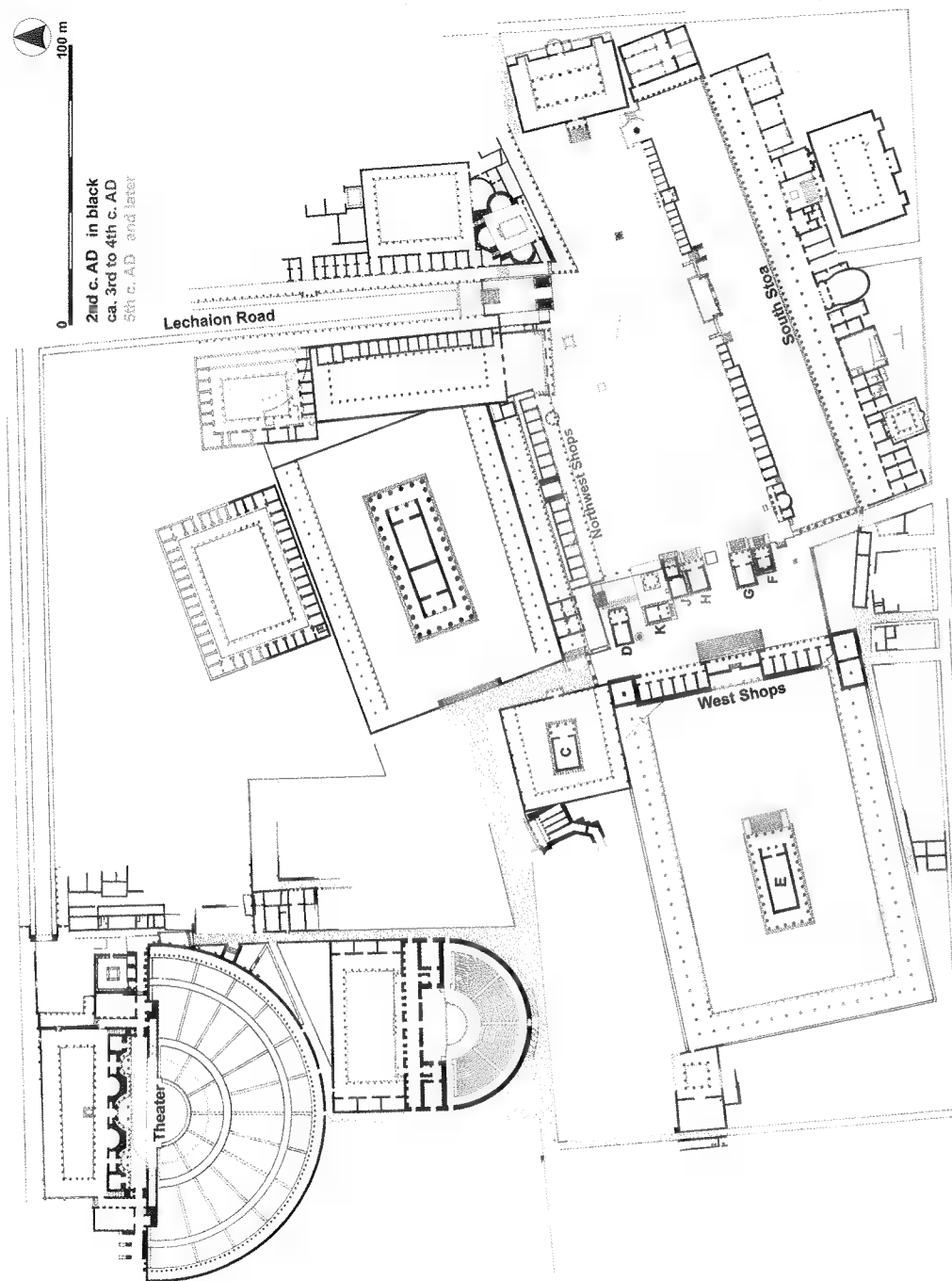


Fig. 14.3 Corinth. Plan of Agora and surrounding area, with restored phase plans of buildings of second to fifth centuries AD.



Fig. 14.4 Base for anonymous governor of Achaia, Corinth. Fourth century, LSA 58. Corinth, South stoa, inv. I-1752 and I-2264. H: 70 cm.

The largest concentration of late antique statuary and honorific inscriptions, however, occurs along the western side of the Agora, where they were probably set up in front of the West and Northwest Shops. The four *chlamydati* found here (LSA 19 and 22-24) in particular suggest that this was the major locale for honouring imperial governors. The surviving heads are mostly male and either shaped for insertion into a separate body or broken above the neck. They can only be approximately dated on the basis of stylistic judgments about hairstyle and carving technique.¹⁹

¹⁹ (1) S-1802 (LSA 2343), tetrarchic beard added to earlier portrait. (2) S-1155, *Corinth* IX.1, no. 159; de Grazia (1973:

The front half of a male head is one of the few private portraits of late antiquity that is known in multiple versions found in different cities. This fragmentary portrait (LSA 358) (Fig. 1.17) and a further fragment from its bust correspond to a fully preserved bust, now in the Thessalonica Archaeological Museum (LSA 90) (Fig. 1.18).²⁰ The honorand was probably a *magister militum* or imperial office-holder active in Illyricum, so honoured both in Corinth and in Macedonia—probably under the emperor Theodosius, since his bust from western Macedonia has been dated by the hairstyle of his wife's bust (LSA 91) (Fig. 20.4) to the second half of the fourth century.²¹ The rural find-spot of the busts from Macedonia perhaps indicates that they came from a private context, while the Corinthian example was this unnamed man's public portrait.

Four life-size headless *chlamydati* (LSA 19 and 22-24) come from post-antique walls between the Northwest and West Shops (Fig. 14.3). These figures probably represent honorific images of Achaean governors once set up on a

65-9, no. 3); Ridgway (1981: 447, n. 99) (tetrarchic). (3) S-1181, de Grazia (1973: 178-83, no. 37, pl. 50) (era of Alexander Severus). (4) S-1182, de Grazia (1973: 183-4, no. 38, pl. 51) (era of Alexander Severus). (5) S-1972-5, Vanderpool (2003: 370, n. 7, fig. 22.4) (c.225-50). (6) S-1974-30, Ridgway (1981: 438-46); Vanderpool (2003: 370, n. 7, fig. 22.3) (c.250-300). Heads dated 3rd or 4th c. from early excavations probably come from the Agora or upper Lechaion Road: (1) S-72 (LSA 2342), now lost, but tetrarchic; (2) S-363 (LSA 65); and (3) S-1202 (LSA 66). The bearded head of a 4th- or early 5th-c. 'philosopher' now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 62.465 (LSA 429), is probably also from the early excavations at Corinth. Female head fragment wearing a head covering, probably 5th c.: S-2474 (LSA 76). Relevant portrait bodies: S-722, *Corinth* IX.1, 97, no. 200; de Grazia (1973: 268-70, no. 78, pl. 87). S-1977-8 could be the schematic lower body of a late antique portrait.

²⁰ S-1977-13 (head), S-1977-14 (bust fragment). Vanderpool (2003: 379-80, fig. 22.13) suggests he was a general of Theodosius based in Thessalonica, c.379-80. It should be noted that while the Corinthian head is a replica of the Thessalonica portrait, the bust fragment differs from the bust in Thessalonica.

²¹ The Macedonian pair of busts in the Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum (inv. nos 1061 and 1060) were brought in together from the village of Kopanos, near Naooussa on the western side of Macedonia in the foothills north of Mt Olympus; they do not come from late antique Thessalonica.



Fig. 14.5 Statue of *chlamydatus* holding *mappa*. From Corinth. Later fifth century, LSA 22. Corinth, Museum, inv. S-819. H: 180 cm.

row of bases found partly in situ in front of the Northwest Shops. The best-preserved (LSA 22) was recarved from a female statue, as attested by traces of the original feet and chiton above the plinth (Fig. 14.5).²² Under the long chlamys, this male figure now has a long-sleeved tunic belted at the waist, with a three-knobbed crossbow fibula on his right shoulder. Both belt and fibula were symbols of imperial rank and office-holding, and the lack of recutting at the neck shows that a distinctive portrait head, carved along with the body, once further identified this figure as a distinctive Corinthian office-holder. Further clues to his office include the closed *calceus* on his right foot (rather than senatorial *calcei*), and the *mappa* in his right hand. The *mappa* was a symbol of the

agonothetēs, or games-giver, so perhaps this man once served as a benefactor of contests at Corinth or the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. Menander, the father of the sophist Aristophanes of Corinth, served for his son as patron of Poseidon's festival in the 330s and probably dropped the *mappa* to begin the races.²³

A second *chlamydatus* of similar pose and costume (LSA 19) holds a scroll of office or erudition instead of a *mappa*; he also bears the belt and fibula of imperial office.²⁴ The head was again carved in one piece, making this a distinctive full-length portrait. The long-sleeved tunic places it in the fourth or fifth century. The front surface of the chlamys was worked unevenly with a point to make a textured surface, apparently deliberately; similar stippling on the back of the right arm makes it unclear if the portrait was finished.

The third *chlamydatus* (LSA 23) preserves only the right side of the upper body, but also had a crossbow fibula and head carved in one piece with the body.²⁵ The fourth *chlamydatus* from the western Agora (LSA 24) is only a lower body, carved out of an epistyle frieze block, with the original surface of the block still preserved on the front of the plinth under the toes.²⁶ There is little modelling, and the original use of the block is immediately apparent, but the sculptor still carefully carved the details of a *calceus* on the exposed right foot. Long cloaks, long tunics, and closed *calcei* are worn by both men and women on fourth-, fifth-, and even sixth-century ivory diptychs and mosaics, making this figure's gender indeterminate.²⁷ The epistyle block apparently came from a small Ionic or Corinthian building, perhaps one of the early imperial temples from this area and in ruins by the fourth century.

²³ Libanius *Oration* 14.8; Cassiodorus *Variae* 3.51. Compare Stephanus, governor of Asia, from Ephesus (LSA 698). On the *mappa*, see now Cameron (2013).

²⁴ S-822, Brown (2012: 152, figs 15 and 16).

²⁵ S-2046, Brown (2012: 153, figs 17 and 18).

²⁶ S-925, Brown (2012: 153–4, figs 19 and 20).

²⁷ Empresses Ariadne (Volbach 1976: no. 52) (see here Fig. 20.9) and Theodora wear a floor-length tunic under a long chlamys, but men also wear floor-length tunics—e.g. in the Probianus diptych (Volbach 1976: no. 62, pl. 18).

²² S-819, Brown (2012: 151, figs 13 and 14).

If three of these figures with symbols of imperial office represent governors of Achaëa, at least one may be a portrait of the proconsul T. Flav(ius) O[...].nos, who restored the West Shops in the later fourth century, according to an inscription on the epistyle of the renovated colonnade.²⁸ The evidence of costume, inscriptions, and comparanda supports the idea that the Corinthian *chlamydatus* depict imperial office-holders, particularly the provincial governor of Achaëa.²⁹ Bases in solid marble or masonry with marble revetment were erected in this area (around the Northwest and West Shops) (Fig. 14.3) to support full-length or bust portraits of governors, set up by the boule and the city of Corinth, with most inscriptions in Greek and in verse and only a few in Latin.

Among late antique emperors, Diocletian (LSA 16), Maximian (LSA 26), and Galerius (LSA 50), and then a century later, Theodosius with his sons (LSA 52), were honoured in Latin by the governor of Achaëa; Trebonianus Gallus, Constans (LSA 53), and Justin II and his son Tiberius were honoured in Greek by the city of Corinth.³⁰ Only the dedications to Trebonianus and Constans were made on solid bases (the latter a re-used altar), while the other inscriptions are marble plaques, possibly revetment for built bases. The Theodosian slabs are thick compared to the others, and may have been sawn off the front of a solid base in the middle ages.

The statue of a Constans—probably the son of Constantine, given the lettering—was certainly of

bronze, to judge from the cuttings on the base, which is a garland altar re-used upside down for a statue.³¹ There is no evidence for the material of the other imperial portraits, though a fragmentary text containing the suggestive words *mar] marioi* (marble-workers) and *Theodos[ios]* may represent a material benefaction by one of the emperors of that name.³² Apart from these emperors, only governors and a limited number of local benefactors received statues from the third to early fifth centuries, in most cases dedicated by the boule or fellow high-ranking office-holders.

Only one surviving base (LSA 17) can be securely linked with a local Corinthian known in the literary sources. A simple, white marble block with clamps on its face had the front cut down to receive a second textual dedication. It apparently formed the central element of a high base whose crowning element is lost (Fig. 14.6). The honorand is one Memmius Pontius Ptolemaeus Parnasius, *vir clarissimus*, 'patron of the *clarissima* city of the Corinthians', and his statue was erected by a certain Aur(elius) Eutychianus, *apostro(tēgos?)*, = *praetorius*, or *duumvir*, by a decree of the city council.³³ Parnasius of Corinth was prefect of Egypt under Constantius (357–9), and was exiled along with the sophist Aristophanes of Corinth, son of Menander the *agonothetēs*. Aristophanes was one of the *agentes in rebus* (couriers or spies in imperial service), but both he and Parnasius got into trouble in Egypt for consulting an astrologer. Aristophanes was reinstated under Julian by the good offices of Libanius, and both men later returned to Corinth.³⁴ It was no doubt at this time or later that Parnasius was honoured with the statue as patron

²⁸ West Shops inscription: *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 504; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985: 273, no. 6); Rizakis et al. (2001: 316–17), *Corinthia* 270.1; Sanders (2003: 395, n. 35). South Stoa inscription, in the same general era: I-1499, *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 505; Rizakis et al. (2001: 316–17), *Corinthia* 270.2.

²⁹ Foss (1990); Smith (1999; 2002).

³⁰ Governor L. Sulpicius Paulus' tetrarchic plaques were perhaps revetment of a single statue base. (1) I-193 etc., for Diocletian, *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 23. (2) I-158 etc., for Maximian, *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 24. (3) I-225 etc., for Galerius, *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 25. Was there a fourth plaque for Constantius? Thick plaque for Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius: I-228, I-754, I-295, *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 506. Base for Trebonianus: I-1751, *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 116. Base for Constans: I-2143. Plaque for Justin II and Tiberius: I-435, *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 195; Bees (1941: no. 9).

³¹ Against Rothaus (2000: 125, n. 64), who follows Kent in reading the base as dedicated to Constans II and sees an anti-pagan message; see a garland altar of 35 BC re-used as a statue base for Isis in the Thessalonian Serapeum (Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum inv. no. 986).

³² I-276, *Corinth* VIII.1, 141 no. 245; Sanders (2003: 395, n. 35).

³³ I-1115, Brown (2012: 166).

³⁴ Libanius *Orations* 14, 16, *Epistles* 734, 1228, 1264, 1399; Ammianus Marcellinus 19.12.10; Jul. *Ep.* 28, 74; Them. *Or.* 23.295a–296b.



Fig. 14.6 Base for statue of Parnasius with clamp holes on front surface. From Corinth. Mid-fourth century? LSA 17. Corinth, Museum, inv. 1115. H: 102 cm.

of the city. Other bases and plaques honouring proconsuls and local office-holders from the southern and western parts of the Agora are more fragmentary, but they are dated on the basis of their script to the third to fifth centuries.³⁵

An important group of unfinished portrait heads with hairstyles of the later fourth or fifth century (LSA 81–3), found in the western part of the Agora, are among the last newly carved portrait heads from Corinth.³⁶ On the basis of these heads and the *chlamydati*, C. Vanderpool

characterized Corinthian sculpture in the fifth century as 'an idiosyncratic, highly localized version of a debased Greco-Roman tradition, often using marble cannibalized from other works'.³⁷ One of the unfinished heads was found set into a small himation statue built into a medieval wall.³⁸ This unfinished head and the other unfinished portraits from this area locate Corinth's late antique statue production within the city itself, and they preserve a window onto the last marble-workers in the city, making portraits and figured sculpture in the round rather than architectural members.

LECHAEUM ROAD

The sidewalks, colonnades, and public buildings of the Lechaem Road below the Agora seem to have been the second most popular venue for the display of honorific statuary in late antiquity (Fig. 14.7). The venerable Peirene fountain-house, Pausanias' Peribolos of Apollo, shops, baths, and grand houses flanked at least the first 200 metres of this marble-paved road, from the Agora north towards the harbour of Lechaem.³⁹ Both a Jewish synagogue and a Christian church probably stood near this road by the sixth century. Most of the surviving statuary was dumped in drains between the sixth and ninth centuries or used to build up the level of the road in the tenth century.⁴⁰ From the later third to early sixth centuries, however, the Lechaem Road closely resembled contemporary monumentalized avenues in other provincial capital

³⁵ Probably portrait-base inscriptions from Agora North-west: (1) I-777, Corinth VIII.1, no. 110d (*anthyptatōn*). (2) I-146 (LSA 61), dedication by Hesychius to a governor, 4th or 5th c. (3) I-1905, I-2149, Corinth VIII.3, no. 516 (*Genethli-dius*). (4) I-939, Corinth VIII.3, no. 519 (*lampras*). Portrait-base inscriptions of uncertain find-spot: (1) I-494, Corinth VIII.1, no. 96 (*Auto/kratōra*). (2) I-2322, Corinth VIII.3, no. 518 (G. Ioulius). (3) I-732, I-740, Corinth VIII.1, no. 294 (building activity?).

³⁶ Sturgeon (2003: 362, n. 42) dates unfinished heads S-697 (LSA 81) and S-1610 (LSA 82) to the second half of the 5th c. Unknown provenance but also reworked: male head fragment S-362 (LSA 83).

³⁷ Vanderpool (2003: 375).

³⁸ This is the only portrait head and body combination to have been excavated intact at Corinth: a small himation statue of the 3rd or 4th c. (S-696, LSA 2361) and an unfinished head with hairstyle of the 2nd half of the 5th c. (S-697 = LSA 81). See Brown (forthcoming).

³⁹ Sears (1902); Stillwell et al. (1941: 1–54); Scranton (1957: 14–23, 37–40); Robinson (2011: 265–84).

⁴⁰ Scranton (1957: 9–10, 25) suggested Corinth's synagogue was near the Theatre and its cathedral in the Julian Basilica, but the location of both is unclear, in spite of relevant inscriptions and architectural members recovered from Lechaem Road excavations.



Fig. 14.7 View of preserved Lechaem Road adjoining Agora, from south.

cities, such as Ephesus or Sardis, where wide colonnaded streets emulated Constantinople's grand *Mese*.⁴¹ On either side of the Lechaem Road, portrait statues looked down from high bases upon traffic flowing in and out of the Agora. The texts on their bases announced the identity of the images and the benefactions of the local and imperial governments to all who could read. Here, the governor of Achaia would make his *adventus*, coming up the long straight road from the harbor at Lechaem, flanked by his predecessors set in stone.

Both stubbly third-century and fully bearded fourth- and fifth-century male heads were recovered from drains and access tunnels between the Peirene fountain-house and the Great Bath on the Lechaem Road.⁴² Two interesting male heads found together immediately north of Peirene represent a bearded, wreath-wearing priest of uncertain date (LSA 74) and a clean-shaven civic honorand of fourth- or fifth-century date (LSA 73) marked with a Christian

⁴¹ Ephesus: Eutropius inscription LSA 611 (5th-c. road-builder); Foss (1979: 47–95; 1990); Feissel (1999); Roueché (1999b). Sardis: Hanfmann (1969); Crawford (1990). Constantinople: Berger (2000).

⁴² (1) S-2771, de Grazia (1973: 77–80, no. 7, pls 10, 11); Ridgway (1981: 430, n. 31); Robinson (2011: 284, fig. 164) (a Caesar with 3rd-c. stubbly beard). (2) S-2749 (LSA 70), 4th c. (3) S-1047 (LSA 85), tetrarchic. (4) S-1073 (LSA 67), late 4th to early 5th c. (5) S-2496 (LSA 86), 2nd quarter of 4th c. (6) S-909 (LSA 72), Robinson (2011: 283, fig. 160, 4th c. (7) S-1454 (LSA 75), Robinson (2011: 284, fig. 163), 5th c.

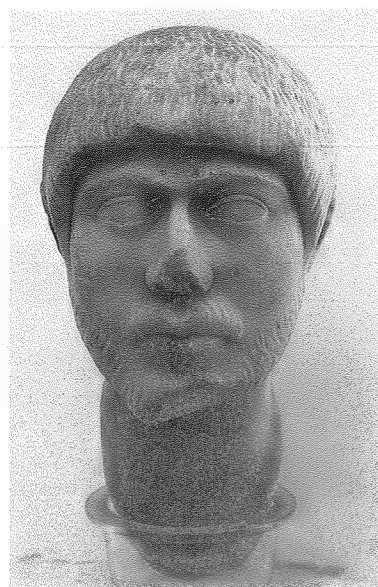


Fig. 14.8 Head of bearded man ('barbarian'). From Corinth. Late fourth century, LSA 71. Corinth Museum, inv. S-1199. H: 44.5 cm.

cross on his forehead before his disposal.⁴³ A bearded and shaggy-haired head (LSA 71) found in a Lechaum Road drain near the Great Bath appeared to Vanderpool to represent a military office-holder of barbarian origin, given his resemblance to figures on the obelisk base of Theodosius in Constantinople (Fig. 14.8).⁴⁴ This latter head, and those heads with surviving necks, are all cut for insertion into separate portrait bodies. Statues in togate and himation costumes from this area also show signs of recutting to take new heads.⁴⁵ The portrait head of a woman (LSA 77), with her hair covered and with the neck shaped for insertion into a statue or bust, was carved in the fifth or even sixth

⁴³ Wreathed bearded head S-920, Robinson (2011: 283, fig. 159). Clean-shaven male head with cross S-919, Robinson (2011: 283, fig. 161); Brown (forthcoming).

⁴⁴ S-1199.
⁴⁵ Himation body, S-47 (LSA 78), 3rd c. *Togatus* body S-180, *Corinth* IX.1, 94, no. 195; de Grazia (1973: 258–60, no. 73, pl. 85); Havé-Nikolaus (1998: 132–3, no. 23) (Antonine). Marble left hand holding a scroll, S-817 (LSA 2359), probably also from a *chlamydatos* portrait.



Fig. 14.9 Fragmentary statue of *chlamydatos*, with newly joined plinth and support. From Corinth. Late fourth century, LSA 21. Corinth, Museum, inv. S-314. H: 112 cm.

century and may represent the last known public portrait of a woman from Corinth.⁴⁶

A headless *chlamydatos* body (LSA 21), originally carved in one piece with its portrait head, was found on the west side of the Lechaum Road and was recently joined with its plinth that carried supporting scrolls (Fig. 14.9).⁴⁷ Only the left half of the statue body survives. It had sloping shoulders and wore a long-sleeved tunic under the *chlamys*. Two holes drilled one above the other on the outer face of the lower left arm probably served to attach a scroll or staff. A staff of office is held,

⁴⁶ S-986, Robinson (2011: 284, fig. 162). There is irresolvable discussion about the date of this interesting head.

⁴⁷ S-314, Brown (2012: 150, figs 10–12).

for example, by the statue of the governor Fl. Palmatus at Aphrodisias (LSA 198)(Fig. 12.6).⁴⁸ The bundle of scrolls indicates that the honorand sought to appear as an educated and responsible office-holder, as also at Aphrodisias.⁴⁹

Among the statue bases found along the Lechaum Road, two with third- to fourth-century script (LSA 51 and 62) express in poetic, archaizing Greek how the statues they carried were to be viewed by contemporary readers and viewers.⁵⁰ Cuttings on the top of each base show that a bronze statue was replaced in late antiquity by a marble statue on an attached plinth, while the front of each base was shaved down to take a new dedicatory text (Fig. 14.10). The new dedications inscribed over the older erased texts celebrate the honorand and his new marble portrait in Greek poetry:

Who has captured the pleasing figure of the proconsul Junior, who has carved his form in stone? The stonemason has imitated his form with his craft, freely bestowing the whole ornament on mother Greece, and blameless Eutychnus, admiring him, set him up, administering Ephyre well in the place of his relative. Passed by a vote of the Council. (LSA 62)⁵¹

I am the man allotted a portion of Periclean blood from an Attic father, the son of Hermolaus, by name Diogenes; Secun[dinus?] set me up in Ephyre ne[ar the spring?] of Peirene as a shining image. Passed by a vote of the Council. (LSA 51)⁵²

These epigrams identified the portraits of the proconsul Junior and an Athenian Diogenes in poetic terms.⁵³ The usual conclusion to such texts—'Passed by a vote of the Council'—was left from the original inscriptions on the bases and apparently still applied to the erection of these statues as well. The poet or poets who

⁴⁸ Smith (1999: 168).

⁴⁹ Smith (1999: 177–8).

⁵⁰ Other bases re-used in late antiquity from the Lechaum Road: I-12, mostly erased, *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 108; I-21, mostly abraded, *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 105.

⁵¹ I-19, Brown (2012: 164) (English translation).

⁵² I-17, I-18, Robinson (2011: 282, n. 178); Brown (2012: 163–4, fig. 22) (corrected Greek text, English translation).

⁵³ Robert (1948); Sevcenko (1968).



Fig. 14.10 Base for statue of governor named Junior, Corinth. Mid-fourth century(?), LSA 62. Corinth, Lechaum Road, inv. I-19. H: 134 cm.

composed these texts use Homeric *Ephyre* as an epic name for Corinth, underlining the ancient origins and authority of the city.⁵⁴

The reason for setting up at least a few of these portraits might be found in the continuous expansion and renovation of the Peirene fountain-house in late antiquity. Even more elaborate than the rebuilding of the colonnades of the West Shops and South Stoa in the fourth century was the construction of the grand new triconch court

⁵⁴ Innes (2001).

of Peirene. Based on construction debris and the style of the new fountain court, B. A. Robinson has dated the three apses to the north of the Peirene spring face, long attributed to Herodes Atticus, at the earliest after the middle of the third century and most likely in the second half of the fourth century.⁵⁵ A statue of Regilla was probably re-erected then, as her base in Peirene, just as her base as Tyche from the West Agora, bears a verse text in third- or fourth-century lettering.⁵⁶ Although the new Peirene partly used spolia from the previous fountain court and other buildings, the interiors of the apses were lined in marble and decorated with honorific portraits and statues of female divinities, some also repaired and probably re-used.⁵⁷ Further repairs were made to the Peirene drain under the Peribolos of Apollo in c.300, and a third public latrine was built by the Glaucé fountain in the mid-fourth century.⁵⁸

In the fifth through sixth centuries, Peirene benefited from further generous benefactions. It was first adorned with a central circular basin over the old rectangular one, complementing the half-circles of apses and arches along the spring facade and keeping the water accessible to large groups of people.⁵⁹ Then the spring facade was decorated, and perhaps shaded, by a parallel colonnade supporting a curious entablature composed of projecting marble beams carved with acanthus on their ends and an epistyle bearing a red-painted dedicatory inscription.⁶⁰ This entire colonnade was composed of re-used architectural members, with columns cut to size, beam-ends carved to match, and the old epistyle's Latin inscription chiseled down to take the new painted text in Greek that reads: '... all

the visible decoration in Peirene...'⁶¹ It is tempting to associate this benefaction with the emperor Justin's aid to the city after the earthquake of 521/2, but it could easily have been the work of a local notable—or even of a clergyman. Peirene certainly continued to be maintained as a practical source of water and decorated as a civic monument throughout late antiquity, and honorific statues were erected inside the court through the fifth and perhaps into the early sixth century.⁶²

PERIPHERAL PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Beyond the Agora and Lechaëum Road, some late antique portraits were probably placed in other traditional public gathering places of Corinth, such as the Theatre and the Odeum. The Theatre was set into the natural hillside to the north of the Agora and formed part of an extensive entertainment complex with an Odeum to the south, flanking paved and colonnaded courtyards, and a large public bath to the north. Both Theatre and Odeum were equipped with arenas in the third century and used for beast hunts, public gatherings, and dramatic performances into the later fourth century (perhaps alongside the Amphitheatre east of the city).⁶³

A few heads and fragmentary inscriptions of late antiquity came to light in long excavation around the Theatre.⁶⁴ A single headless *chlamydatos* (LSA 15) came from the Theatre's upper cavea, and so probably in origin from the Odeum

⁶¹ I-24, IG IV 1606; *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 198; Robinson (2011: 279).

⁶² In the 7th–8th c. Peirene's water was redirected into a new public fountain in the medieval to modern village plateia, while the ancient fountain-house was converted into a chapel: Robinson (2011: 286–303).

⁶³ Theatre: Stillwell (1952: 84–98, 140); Robert (1971: 117, no. 60); Williams and Zervos (1989: 19–36); *Corinth* IX.3. Odeum: Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* 2.1.9 (551); Broneer (1932); Williams and Zervos (1987); Tobin (1997: 296–302, 311–14). Robbing-out of Theatre, mid-5th c.: Williams and Zervos (1987: 31); Slane and Sanders (2005).

⁶⁴ Female head fragment S-3317, dated late Severan by de Grazia (1973, 176–8, no. 36, pl. 52); *Corinth* IX.3, 142–3, no. 32. Male head fragment S-3320 (LSA 2362) is later 3rd c.



Fig. 14.11 Torso of *chlamydatos*. From Corinth. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 15. Corinth, Museum, S-903. H: 94 cm.

or Theatre (Fig. 14.11).⁶⁵ Its chlamys was pinned at the right shoulder with a separately added metal crossbow fibula, now lost. It may suggest the greater expense (and probably earlier date) of this statue. Like the other *chlamydati*, its head was carved in one piece with the body—again an indication of a new and expensive full-length portrait. A separately worked right hand and wrist from a figure wearing a long-sleeved late antique tunic (LSA 25) was found at the western parodos of the Theatre; the hand holds a cylindrical object, probably again a staff of office.⁶⁶ As at Aphrodisias, the most likely original setting for these statues was the colonnaded courtyards to either side of the

Theatre.⁶⁷ The public use of these courtyards certainly continued through the fourth century.⁶⁸

On the east side of Corinth, it remains unclear if the Amphitheatre and Kraneion Gymnasium were still used in late antiquity. References in the literary sources of the Second Sophistic to these buildings are abundant, but the relevance of fourth-century texts is disputed.⁶⁹ The Cenchrean City Gate was also in this area. It was part of both the rebuilt Late Roman wall and the earlier Greek enceinte, and was probably decorated with spolia, and possibly with new statues and inscriptions.⁷⁰ Tombs outside the city walls might also have had sculpture in late antiquity, and the epitaph of a praetorian prefect of Illyricum buried at Corinth is preserved in the *Palatine Anthology*.⁷¹

A seventh *chlamydatos* body (LSA 80) was found re-used as a door-sill in the narthex of the Kraneion Basilica, a church constructed in the first half of the sixth century on the road between Corinth and the eastern harbour of Cenchreae, immediately outside the late Roman city wall (Fig. 14.12).⁷² Though without head and arms, this figure was found, when turned over in 2005, to be otherwise well-preserved. The crossbow fibula was carved, as was the head, in one piece

⁶⁷ *Corinth* IX.3, 165; Smith (1999: 170–71; 2001).

⁶⁸ MacIsaac (1987); archaeological reports listed above, n. 63.

⁶⁹ Amphitheatre: Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 31.121; Lucian *Demonax* 57; Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 4.22; Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 10.18; Robert (1971: 117–18, no. 61); Welch (1999: 134–40; 2007: 178–83, 255–9). Corinthian amphitheatre praised c.359 in anonymous geographic itinerary *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 52 (Rougé 1966). Letter in the collection of Julian (*Ep.* 198, Bidez 1960, *Ep.* 28, Wright 1923) may not be by his hand but is probably late antique (*contra* Spawforth 1994).

⁷⁰ Late antique city wall excavated only partially on eastern side, with alternative reconstructions: Gregory (1979); Sanders and Boyd (2008). For Corinthian gates, compare the Hexamilion Fortress at Isthmia, with a re-used Roman arch on the north (Gregory and Mills 1984) and newly cut 6th-c. inscriptions built into a brand new southern gate (IG IV 204–205; Bees 1941: 1–5, nos 1 and 2; *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 508).

⁷¹ *Palatine Anthology* 7.672; Robert (1948: 72); Feissel and Philippidis-Braat (1985: 283, no. 20). Late antique gravestones from Kraneion: *Corinth* VIII.3, nos 629–36; Pallas and Dantis (1979).

⁷² S-3788, Brown (2012: 142–7, figs 2–6). Kraneion Basilica: Pausanias 2.2.4 (area); Shelley (1943); Pallas (1972; 1980; 1990); Snively (1984: 117–24); Sanders (2005); LSA 80.

⁵⁵ Robinson (2011: 252–84).

⁵⁶ I-62, IG IV 1599; *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 15; Robinson (2011: 252).

⁵⁷ S-55 (woman with repairs), S-1023 (plinth with foot), S-54 (Aphrodite with repairs), S-1024 (nymph with shell), all in Robinson (2011: 291–3) on destruction of Peirene's statuary.

⁵⁸ Slane (1994); Williams and Zervos (1984: 101).

⁵⁹ Robinson (2011: 275–84) on a string of 5th- to early 6th-c. Peirene benefactions, including the circular basin (Scranton 1957: pl. 2.2) and columnar outlooker facade.

⁶⁰ Scranton (1957: 22–3); Robinson (2011: 275–81).

⁶⁵ S-903, Brown (2012: 149, figs 8 and 9).

⁶⁶ T-863/Sc62, Brown (2012: 162, fig. 21).

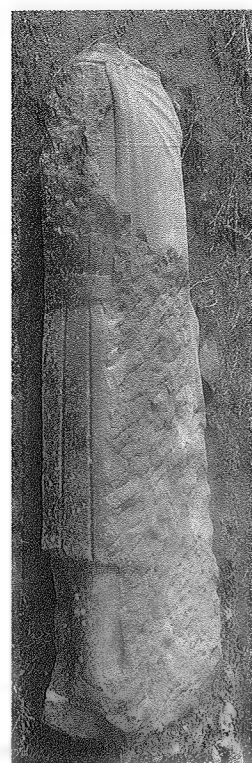


Fig. 14.12 Statue of chlamydatus, later reworked into threshold block. Later fifth century, LSA 80. Corinth Museum, inv. S-3788. H: 149.5 cm.

with the body, and the belt and calcei are also preserved. The context of re-use is securely dated to c.500–550 and shows that by that time this man's identity and his marks of office were not impediments to the builders of the Kraneion Basilica.⁷³ At the Corinthian Agora and on the Lechaëum Road, disposal and re-use of statuary also began certainly in the sixth century.

HARBOURS: LECHAEUM, CENCHREAE, AND ISTHμία

The artificial harbour of Lechaëum at the northern end of the Lechaëum Road was dredged in

⁷³ On statue destruction: *CTh* 9.40.17 of AD 399; Stewart (1999); Roueché (2006).

from the beach of the Corinthian Gulf, directly north of the city of Corinth; today, it is a marshy lake cut off from the sea and flanked by high sand dunes, probably from the last Roman-era dredging.⁷⁴ Sporadic excavations and texts show that in late antiquity Lechaëum was an active port with warehouses, baths, sanctuaries, and fine coastal houses ringing the artificial harbour.⁷⁵ A lighthouse probably stood on the island in its centre; J. W. Shaw also places a bronze Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias there on a Carystian marble column, now fallen.⁷⁶ Also possibly on this island, or alongside the harbour on shore, stood the portrait statue of the governor Fl. Hermogenes, whose large triangular base (LSA 359) survives today, bearing a text in Greek in which both the *boule* and *demos* of Corinth honour him as governor of Achaëa (c.353–8) and 'benefactor and founder of the harbour'.⁷⁷ This base was clearly re-used as a statue base for the governor, as a large letter 'N' on each face suggests it was probably once a directional marker or a base for another monument. It was seen and read in situ at Lechaëum as early as 1825; to earn these titles the governor probably dredged or otherwise restored the Lechaëum harbour. Such efforts indicate that the imperial government, or at least the governor, valued Lechaëum and Corinth in the middle of the fourth century as a port for travel and trade with the west.

Corinth's ancient eastern harbour town, Cenchreae, was located on the Saronic Gulf southeast of the Isthmus.⁷⁸ In contrast to Lechaëum, the coastline here formed a natural cove, which was enhanced by the construction of two long breakwaters. In late antiquity, the shore seems to have

⁷⁴ Roman Lechaëum: Strabo 8.6.22; Pliny *NH* 4.4.10, 4.5.12; Plutarch *Moralia* 146B–164D, *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*, set in the age of Periander but perhaps with details of Plutarch's day, such as a *hieron* of Aphrodite, fine villas, baths, palaestra, and a grove by the sea; Pausanias 2.2.3.

⁷⁵ Fowler and Stillwell (1932: 95); Carpenter and Bon (1936: 29); Roux (1958: 103); Pallas (1967: 143–55); Rothaus (1995); Stiros et al. (1996).

⁷⁶ Pausanias 2.2.3; Shaw (1969).

⁷⁷ I-1391, Robinson (2011: 266).

⁷⁸ Roman Cenchreae: Strabo 380; Pliny *NH* 4.4.10, 4.5.12; Ptolemy 3.16.13; Pausanias 2.2; Hohlfelder (1970).

been lined with fine houses, sanctuaries, and warehouses, as well as family tombs on the western ridge.⁷⁹ No statue bases or elements of late antique statuary were found here, though future excavations may yield such finds to accompany the extensive late ruins.

To the northwest of Cenchreae, however, the ancient Panhellenic sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia displayed portrait statues in late antiquity. Centred around the classical temple of Poseidon, by the third century the sanctuary also contained an important shrine for the heroised maritime child-god Melikertes-Palaemon.⁸⁰ A stadium, theatre, baths, and monumental stoas filled the remainder of the slopes leading down to the Saronic Gulf east of the sanctuary.⁸¹ A monumental arch crossed the road that entered the sanctuary from the northeast, the route from Megara, Athens, and Theseus' Scironian cliffs.⁸² Here, every two years the Panhellenic Isthmian festival was held, in which contestants from all over the Mediterranean competed.⁸³ Evidence for *agonothetēs* and victors continues into the middle of the fourth century, after which the Isthmian games were apparently no longer celebrated. A tetrarchic male head from Corinth wears the characteristic pine wreath of an Isthmian victor (LSA 84), and two victor monuments from Isthmia were possibly for third-century winners too.⁸⁴

A bearded portrait head from the foundations of a Byzantine house in the Eastern Fortress,

which was built over the Isthmian sanctuary in the sixth century, belongs to a group of at least nine versions of the same portrait type of the later third- or fourth-century man from Greece, known conventionally (but probably incorrectly) as 'Iamblichus' (LSA 79).⁸⁵ Whether this portrait represented a notable late antique philosopher such as Iamblichus, a historian such as Dexippus, or perhaps even the famously bearded but never securely identified emperor Julian, this man was clearly widely honoured in Greece, especially at ancient pagan sanctuaries including Isthmia, Eleusis, Delphi, and Epidauros. The discovery of the same portrait at these other shrines means too that it was almost certainly originally erected at Isthmia in the sanctuary itself to reward specifically religious benefactions.

Other exploration in this area has revealed luxurious late antique villas, particularly on headlands and on islands in the Saronic Gulf.⁸⁶ But the only building known to have remained in use after the construction of the Hexamilion Wall across the Isthmus and the Eastern Fort is Isthmia's brick bath complex, from the sixth century, located inside the new wall to the west of the new fort.⁸⁷ Both the wall and the fort were built largely of spolia, and inside them, we may suppose, disappeared most of Corinth's marble statuary, both earlier and late antique.

⁸⁵ Once S-2415, now Isthmia Museum inv. no. IS-446, Jenkins and Megaw (1934: 82, fig. 8); de Grazia (1973: 196–201, no. 46, pl. 60). Other heads of the broad 'Iamblichus' group in the LSA database: (1) LSA 110 (Delphi); (2) LSA 111 (Delphi), not same man as LSA 110; (3) LSA 112 (Athens); (4) LSA 113 (Athens); (5) LSA 114 (Athens); (6) LSA 115 (Epidauros) (Fig. 7.6); (7) LSA 116 (Eleusis) (Fig. 7.5), stockier face with wreath. (8) LSA 894 (Vatican). The headless Athenian herm dedicated to Iamblichus is LSA 135 (Fig. 15.2). The Isthmian head (S-2415) surely represents the same man as LSA 111 (Delphi), LSA 115 (Epidauros), and LSA 894 ('Italy' or Greece). Julian: Kastriotis (1923); Lévêque (1960); Inan and Rosenbaum (1966: 157, no. 108, n. 5); Smith (2001). 'Iamblichus' group: L'Orange (1975); this volume, Chs 7 (Gehn) and 21 (Lenaghan).

⁸⁶ Gregory (1985); Kardulias et al. (1995).

⁸⁷ Gregory (1993; 1995); Frey (2006).

⁷⁹ Hohlfelder (1976); Scranton et al. (1978); Rife et al. (2007).

⁸⁰ Roman Isthmia: Pausanias 2.2.1, 1.44.7–8, 2.1.3; Philostratus *Imagines* 2.362.30; Broneer (1973); Koester (1990); Gregory (1995); Gebhard and Dickie (1999).

⁸¹ Sculpture: Sturgeon (1987); Lattimore (1996).

⁸² Roman Arch at Isthmia: Gregory and Mills (1984).

⁸³ Broneer (1962) (Isthmian crown); Geagan (1968; 1975); Biers and Geagan (1970).

⁸⁴ Male Isthmian victor's head S-340 was brought to the Corinth Museum with S-341 (de Grazia 1973: no. 41), a female head, perhaps his wife. Victor monuments of 2nd- or 3rd-c. date: Isthmia Museum inv. nos. IS-69-1 (Lattimore 1996: no. 87, pls 27 and 28; *SEG* 41 270) and IS-69-2 (Clement 1972: 167, pl. 141c; *SEG* 29 341).

CHAPTER 15

Athens

Ulrich Gehn

INTRODUCTION

Athens has some sixty-six items in the LSA database: twenty inscribed bases for honorific statues, forty-two surviving statuary pieces, and four literary records. The numbers alone identify Athens as one of the major statue-producing provincial cities of late antiquity. Only Aphrodisias (c.105), Ephesus, and Lepcis Magna (both c.90) have more evidence; Corinth—the capital of Achaëa, the province to which Athens belonged—has a similar, but slightly inferior, number (c.53). The sculpture from Athens in particular is outstanding in quantity, and comparable to that of centres such as Aphrodisias and Ephesus. Although in Athens no inscribed base can be associated with its statue, a broad correspondence between bases and statuary can be assumed. That is, the epigraphic evidence records broadly the same kinds of honorands that we see in the surviving portraits.

The material of LSA demonstrates that the gloomy picture of sharp decline, the long-established view concerning late antique Athens, needs reconsideration.¹ Athens had the necessary

¹ The gloomy picture of Athens has been modified by recent research: production of ceramics flourished again, soon after the Herulian sack of 267 (Karivieri 1999); after the Visigothic threat of 395–6, there is evidence of major building activity (Travlos 1993: 130–4; Frantz 1988a: 58–68; Castrén 1999: 216–20). Also in the earlier 4th c. there appears to have been considerable building activity, both public and private (Frantz 1988a: 24–9, 34–7).

conditions for a thriving statue habit: there was an interest in receiving statues, an interest in setting them up, and there was obviously the money to do so. Unlike other late antique 'statue cities', such as Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Lepcis, Corinth, and Gortyna, Athens was not a provincial capital. In such capitals, late antique honorific statuary was a highly visible manifestation of the interaction between the provincial governor and the citizens, and between the provincial governor and the emperor. Since it was not a provincial capital, the Athenian evidence is idiosyncratic and striking.²

As elsewhere, the main categories of honorands in Athens were emperors and members of the imperial family, imperial office-holders, and civic notables. Whereas the overall statistics for the empire show that the imperial family received the most statues out of these categories, the evidence from Athens is different. The numbers are small but still significant: imperial office-holders have eight bases and one literary testimony; civic notables have six bases and two literary testimonies as well as two herms; and the imperial family has six statue bases and one literary testimony. Analysis by date shows the complete

² The LSA starting point in 284 reflects the empire-wide political and administrative changes that came with Diocletian and the tetrarchy. In Athens, however, a starting point after the Herulian incursion of 267 (as chosen by, e.g. Frantz 1988a) makes sense: the role of the local elite appears homogenous through the later 3rd and 4th c.

absence of securely datable evidence for honours to civic notables in the first half of the fourth century and an apparent 'renaissance' for the honorand category in the late fourth and fifth century.³ Although the date of the inscribed honours for local notables is less secure than that of imperial office-holders, at least three of the eight dedications can be dated with confidence to the late fourth or early fifth century (LSA 134–6— and possibly too LSA 141). Imperial honours, which dominate in the late third and earlier fourth century, mostly cease in our evidence after the Constantinian dynasty.

Statue honours for emperors

Of the seven imperial honours, one is tetrarchic (LSA 97). Four bases are for Constantine and his dynasty (LSA 399, 400, 402, and 430), and Julian reports that Constantine was honoured in Athens with the title of *strategos* and a statue (LSA 100).⁴ The poor representation of the tetrarchy and the absence of ruling emperors (only Eudocia is honoured, LSA 139) of the later fourth and fifth centuries require some discussion, by contrast with the comparative wealth of Constantinian material.

Constantine and his family seem to have cultivated a particular link with Athens. The statue reported by Julian was probably cuirassed, but the office it honoured had changed character, and was now charged with safeguarding the food supply.⁵ The statue was possibly in exchange for largesse in this area.⁶ Constantine responded to the honour, so Julian reports, by granting an annual distribution of grain to the city, a grant later renewed by his son Constans.⁷ In the same context, Julian stresses the emperor's concern for

the city 'in word and deed, throughout his whole life'. Holding a municipal office in Athens, moreover, could be understood as a gesture of the emperor's particular respect towards the traditions and the dignity of the city, and finds no parallel in any other provincial city.⁸ His imperial example was taken up by high-ranking state office-holders (LSA 93, 94, and 103).

The statue recorded by Julian was set up by the people of Athens. The other statues of emperors of the late third to early fourth century were awarded by imperial office-holders, usually the provincial governor.⁹ This is another feature by which Athens distinguishes itself from other provincial cities. Provincial governors often set up imperial statues in their provincial capitals, but in other cities it was mostly the civic authorities or the citizens that did so. Obviously the 'pure and true Hellas, where humanity, literacy, and even the fruits are believed to have been first invented' was still held in high esteem in the Constantinian period.¹⁰

Benevolence towards the city by the Constantinian dynasty is supported by further evidence. Constantine himself appointed the Athenian nobleman Nicagoras for a mission to Egypt, a clear signal of particular esteem for the city's aristocracy.¹¹ Most significantly, the emperor restored the provincial governorship of Achaëa to the senatorial rank of 'proconsul', after it had been downgraded to equestrian rank by the tetrarchic reforms.¹² The installation of a proconsul made the office accessible to members of the

⁸ Domitian, Hadrian, and Gallienus held the archonship at Athens (Watts 2006: 28, n. 18). Constantine was therefore following a proud tradition, the last emperor to do so.

⁹ This is secure for LSA 399, 400, and 402. The awardee is lost on LSA 430. LSA 97 was set up by a different high imperial office-holder.

¹⁰ *Cogita te missum in provinciam Achaïam, illam veram et meram Graeciam, in qua primum humanitas, litterae, etiam fruges inventae esse creduntur* (Pliny *Letters* 8.24).

¹¹ Nicagoras was the son of Minucianus, the awardee of LSA 93 and 94. That he was a torchbearer at Eleusis did not exclude him from imperial favour. There are other examples of prominent Athenian pagans ascending to high power under Constantine (Schissel 1927: 361–73).

¹² Groag (1946: 16–22).

³ A similar trend has been observed in Aphrodisias by Roueché in *ALA* 86—but about half a century later.

⁴ Most scholars think that *strategos* refers to the hoplite general; however Oliver (1950) argued that it referred to the eponymous archon.

⁵ The statue is described as *epi ta opla*, 'armoured'; Jul. Or. 1. 6.

⁶ Tantillo (1997: 187), with further references.

⁷ Frantz (1988a: 16, n. 6).

traditional Roman nobility, and it was certainly intended to enhance Greek dignity.

In the first half of the fourth century, Athens indeed experienced an 'appreciable measure of recovery' after the destruction caused by the Herulian attack in 267.¹³ A massive architrave with a fragmentary inscription to Constantine or one of his sons is evidence of direct imperial patronage.¹⁴ The city also enjoyed benefactions from the proconsul of Achaëa: one of them, Cervonius, in the 330s or 340s, is even praised in a panegyric by Himerius as the 'refounder' of the city.¹⁵ Archaeological evidence suggests that the reconstruction of the theatre of Dionysus may have taken place before the mid-fourth century.¹⁶ These efforts extended to the maintenance of Athens' central pagan cults: the Pompeion, from which the Panathenaic procession started, and the adjacent ceremonial gate were restored in the same period, as was the stoa along the Panathenaic way.¹⁷ These signs of favour concur with the statue evidence to suggest a positive imperial attitude towards the city.¹⁸

The dedications to Constantinian emperors all come from the area of the Library of Hadrian. This structure had been used as a state archive in the earlier imperial period, and probably maintained this function into late antiquity.¹⁹ E. Sironen suggests that the inscriptions point to an imperial shrine in this area.²⁰ The standard

wording of the inscriptions, with the governor as the awardee, however, suggests political honours rather than cult dedications.

The relatively thin evidence for statues of emperors in the later fourth century in Athens is in keeping with the broad picture in Greece.²¹ It has been argued that from the fourth century the Christian emperors lost interest in assisting a city so strongly permeated with pagan traditions.²² This argument might suit Athens but does not account for the broader trend in the region. Rather, the absence of emperors after the Constantinian dynasty probably reflects the area's political and economic insignificance. It is thus striking that in Athens (and the wider region) city culture was maintained despite imperial neglect. In Athens, the local aristocracy kept up the civic traditions, and it did so in a strongly conservative manner.

The last imperial statue from Athens (LSA 139) is an exceptional dedication to the empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II, datable to 421–39. It is remarkable for a number of reasons. It is the only statue inscription to a woman known from Athens,²³ the only honour for the imperial family in the city after the mid-fourth century, and a unique imperial monument for a provincial city in the 420s or 430s anywhere in the empire.²⁴ It was erected by the emperor himself. Its exceptional status is explained by the fact that Eudocia was an Athenian by birth, although we have no evidence of her retaining any links with her home town. Indeed, as a devout convert to Christianity, she may even have shunned the notoriously pagan city. The inscription to Eudocia was found in the area of the so-called 'Palace of the Giants' on the Agora,

¹³ Frantz (1988a: 16); see also Castrén (1994: 1).

¹⁴ Architrave block with Constantinian inscription, in the forecourt of the Epigraphic Museum at Athens: Sironen (1997: no. 10).

¹⁵ Himerius *Or.* IV, 54–6; Groag 1946, 27–8; *PLRE* I, 199 Cervonius; he was awarded a statue at Thespie (LSA 795); Frantz (1988a: 20–22).

¹⁶ Frantz (1988a: 25; 1988b). Sironen (1994: 43–5) is critical of Frantz's dating; Castrén (1999: 216).

¹⁷ Frantz (1988a: 26–8).

¹⁸ Julian is praised as a benefactor of the city by the panegyrist Mamertinus (*Gratiarum actio ad Iulianum* 9), though no evidence of building work or statues for him survives.

¹⁹ Sisson (1929: 64–6); Castrén (1999: 211, 216); Castrén (1994: 2–4). Shear (1981) suggested identifying the structure as an imperial forum; Karivieri (1994: 93–4) agrees.

²⁰ Sironen (1994); Karivieri (1994: 102–4); Castrén (1999). Karivieri's suggestion relies on the portrait head LSA 132, which she considered (without good reason) to be a portrait of Julian or of an imperial priest.

²¹ Of c. 50 dedications to emperors in Greece and the south Balkans, there are five to Valens or Valentinian (LSA 920–22, 931, and 935), two to Theodosian emperors (LSA 52 and 829), and one to an unknown emperor of the late 4th c. (LSA 923).

²² Castrén (1999: 215).

²³ And one of only two in the region; the other one is LSA 924 (Galeria Valeria, Thebes).

²⁴ The only other statues known for Eudocia were in the great cities of Constantinople (LSA 33) and Antioch (LSA 2742 and 2743).

leading to the hypothesis that this large late antique house was the empress's Athenian domicile.²⁵

Statue honours for imperial office-holders

There are some ten recorded statues of imperial office-holders in Athens (LSA 1, 2, 93, 94, 103, 137, 138, 140(?), 423, and 425). They were almost all set up by local notables, in three cases implementing decrees by civic bodies (LSA 93, 94, and 103). The only exception is the honour for the praetorian prefect Sextus Petronius Probus (LSA 1), which was awarded by the provincial governor.

Six of these office-holders were governors of Achaëa (LSA 2, 93, 94, 103, 423, and 425), and three (or perhaps four) praetorian prefects (LSA 1, 137, 138, and 140(?)); most of these dedications can be at least approximately dated.²⁶ The statues of governors were set up in the fourth century and those to the higher-ranking praetorian prefects in the late fourth or early fifth century. The Athenian evidence thus contributes to an impression that higher-ranking praetorian prefects appear somewhat later in the epigraphic record than governors. In Athens, once they are involved in the statue habit, they take over from the provincial governors.

All nine surviving statue inscriptions for office-holders are in Greek, six in verse (LSA 1, 2, 137, 138, 140, and 425), three in prose (LSA 93, 94, and 103).²⁷ The choice of verse may be partly due to a later date: the inscriptions to governors that can be securely dated to the late third and mid-fourth century are in prose, while the late fourth-century inscription LSA 2 (379–95), is in

verse. Verse is also used in the statue inscriptions for praetorian prefects of the late fourth and early fifth century (LSA 1, 137, and 138). The governor Illyrius is honoured in sober prose in his two statue inscriptions (LSA 93 and 94); but he was also honoured in a building inscription from the post-Herulian Wall, this time in verse that compared his work to that of the mythical hero Amphion building the walls of Thebes with the music of his lyre.²⁸ Illyrius was not only governor of Achaëa but also an Athenian by birth and a member of the council of the Areopagus—hence both a civic and an imperial office-holder. There was clearly a choice available between prose and verse.

The prose inscription for the Italian-born governor Rufius Festus (LSA 103), either the mid-fourth century poet of that name (*PLRE* I, 336–7 Festus 12) or, as some have argued, his son, may seem surprising if he was the poet. The phrasing of his inscription, however, is remarkably similar to those for Illyrius: all commemorate the honorees' membership of the council of the Areopagus, and all were dedicated by the civic bodies of Athens, under the care of a local notable (in all cases a priest of Eleusis). This kind of prose honorific text may then follow a tradition for municipal office-holders that was still considered appropriate in the fourth century.²⁹

Provincial governors boasting of their membership of one of the councils or of holding municipal office is a phenomenon unique to Athens. It highlights the city's importance as the cradle of Greco-Roman culture, despite its political insignificance. Few provincial capitals had such a privileged cultural dignity: 'there was a real sense in which Athens remained a capital, not a provincial city.'³⁰ Reverence was paid by

²⁵ Thompson in Frantz (1988a: 95–116); Sironen (1997: no. 24). The tetraconch in the Library of Hadrian, probably a church, has also been attributed to Eudocia: Fowden (1990); Karivieri (1994: 111–12); Burman (1994: 83). The function and date of the complex in the Agora, however, remain controversial. A female head discovered in 2005 (LSA 2693) has been attributed to Eudocia, but lacks a diadem and so is almost certainly not imperial.

²⁶ The evidence for their dates can be found on the 'Discussion' page of their respective LSA entries.

²⁷ A further honour is known only from a textual reference: LSA 423.

²⁸ *IG* II/III 5199; Sironen (1994: no. 4).

²⁹ Evidence of choice of text type, for use in different contexts, is supported by a long statue inscription to the historian Publius Herennius Dexippus set up by his children in the pre-tetrarchic later 3rd c. (*IG* II/III (5) 13262), which consists of a prose text listing his municipal offices, followed by a verse epigram praising his intellectual achievements and writing.

³⁰ Millar (1969: 21).

outsiders and locals alike. The family of the governor Illyrius had been of senatorial rank for at least three generations, as his identical statue inscriptions tell us (LSA 93 and 94), but they stress his Athenian origins also. His local origins and offices and his imperial status were alike important to him.

The cultural heritage of Athens appealed to others too. Many of those concerned with the administration of the empire wanted to participate in it. The city had something to offer of comparable value to imperial dignities.³¹ According to Julian, Constantine derived more pleasure from his Athenian office than from any other honour,³² and this is probably the reason why it was proudly recorded of the Italian-born senator Rufius Festus that he was a member of the council of the Areopagus (LSA 103).

It has long been observed that the elaborate verse inscriptions of the Greek east, composed by professional writers and with references to myth and literary tradition, were part of a discourse by which the upper classes displayed their common educational background. Education was also a major element in the role of imperial office-holders in the Greek east, and the imperial aristocracy fully recognized the importance of Greek education.³³

It is perhaps significant that office-holders honoured with verse inscriptions in the Greek world were honoured by more conservative inscriptions elsewhere. Sextus Petronius Probus received a statue in Athens (LSA 1) while holding the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum. No fewer than ten dedications to him at different locations are recorded in our database.³⁴ The Athenian inscription is the only one in Greek verse. In unusually laconic verse, it records a prestigious

statue in bronze set up by the governor of Achaia.³⁵

The proportion of honours for praetorian prefects is higher in Athens than the empire-wide average.³⁶ This probably reflects the importance of the prefects in defensive building in the region after the Gothic raids of the late fourth century and in the face of new Hunnic pressure.³⁷ The praetorian prefect Herculus, the recipient of two statues at Athens (LSA 137 and 138), was the addressee of a constitution in the Theodosian Code obliging the population of Illyricum to contribute to the task of fortifying the region.³⁸ One of the statues (LSA 138), as its inscription tells us, was set up on the Acropolis next to the statue of Athena Promachus, the city's divine protectress against its human enemies.³⁹ The other statue (LSA 137) was set up at the western entrance of the Library of Hadrian, which was incorporated into the city's defences in the early fifth century.⁴⁰ G. Fowden has made the appealing suggestion that the honours for Herculus were in gratitude for a considerable reinforcement of the city's walls.⁴¹ Until late in the fourth century, as we shall see, it was the local upper class that took responsibility for the defence of the city, but thereafter, this fell within the remit of the praetorian prefect.

In all statue inscriptions for imperial office-holders, except that to Probus, local notables or civic bodies feature as the awarders.⁴² In Athens, teachers, the local aristocracy, and imperial

³⁵ Remarkably, imperial permission for the use of bronze is not mentioned, although this appears to have been necessary in the east after the middle of the 4th c.: Premerstein (1912); Feissel (1984).

³⁶ LSA lists 379 bases for imperial office-holders, of which c. 200 are for governors, and only 37 for praetorian prefects.

³⁷ The following interpretation is based on the suggestions made by Fowden (1995).

³⁸ *CTh* XV.1.49a.

³⁹ Compare Deligiannakis (2013: 388 and 390–91). On Athena Promachus in late antiquity, see Robert (1989: 652–8).

⁴⁰ Frantz (1988a: 136–7, 139) (J. Travlos); Fowden (1995: 554–6).

⁴¹ Fowden (1995: 554–6). A further dedication to Herculus, from Megara, explicitly praises his walling of the city (LSA 55).

⁴² LSA 2, 93, 94, 103, 137, and 423; in LSA 425 honorand and awarder are lost.

³¹ *Jul. Or.* II (III), 12, 53–4 (Bidez 1960) praises the pure fountains and streams of Philosophy that still flow in Athens: they are the only riches worth aspiring to.

³² *Jul. Or.* I, 6.

³³ Gehr (2012: chs 7 and 8).

³⁴ LSA 272, 306, 1459, and 1460 (all Rome); LSA 773 and 779 (both Gortyna); LSA 1936 (Capua); LSA 1599 (Verona); LSA 2027 (Casinum).

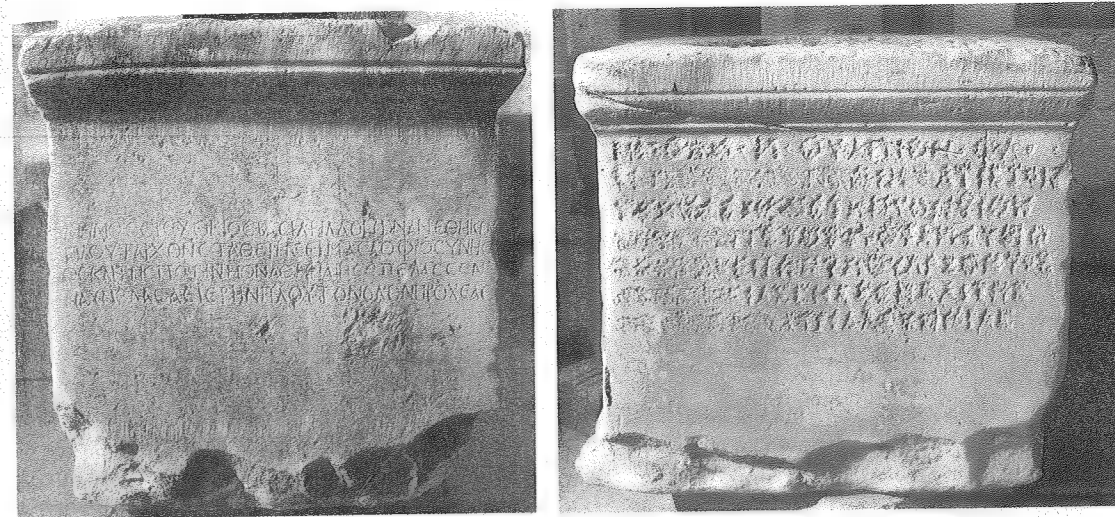


Fig. 15.1 Base (front and back) for statue of Plutarchus. From Athens. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 134. Athens, Epigraphic Museum, inv. 10512. H: 61 cm.

office-holders were interconnected. This network is admirably illustrated by one of the inscriptions to Herculus, erected by Plutarchus, the sophist (LSA 137): 'The treasurer of the laws, Herculus, the worthy prefect, / Plutarchus set up, the treasurer of the myths, the sophist.' The chiasm, 'the treasurer of the laws... the treasurer of the myths', is a powerful rhetorical figure to indicate the interweaving of the two elements, while parallelisms in vocabulary and word order indicate the equivalence of the two persons and their achievements.

Statue honours for local notables

In Athens, the relative number of local notables receiving statues is significantly higher than the empire-wide average. Although dating is less secure for these honorands, at least three of the eight can be dated with confidence to the late fourth or early fifth centuries: LSA 134 (Fig. 15.1), 135, 136. Five of their inscriptions are in verse (LSA 134–6, 141, and 424), two in prose (LSA 96 and 102). Some refer to the contribution of the local elite towards the defence of the city in the later third and fourth centuries, following a tradition well established at the time

of the Herulian attacks. In this earlier period, in the absence of imperial troops, P. Herennius Dexippus had famously recruited a group of citizens who succeeded in forcing the barbarians to withdraw.⁴³ Dexippus was a shining model to whom later Athenians could refer.

LSA 135 carries two verse epigrams that praise the wisdom of a certain Iamblichus and his contribution to the city's defence, probably in the face of the Visigothic threat of the late fourth century (Fig. 15.2). The honorand was presumably Iamblichus, head of the Neoplatonic school at Athens in this period.⁴⁴ Although born in Syria and one of the many foreign intellectuals attracted to Athens, and with no indication that he ever became an Athenian citizen, Iamblichus did not spare his wealth for the wellbeing of the city. He was honoured with a re-used herm. Athens is the only city in our database to use herms as honorific monuments in late antiquity (LSA 96 and 135)—a distinctive practice of the city established in earlier times.⁴⁵ The form of the

⁴³ Millar (1969: 26–9).

⁴⁴ Raubitschek (1964: 66–7).

⁴⁵ Cosmetes herms: Graindor (1915); Lattanzi (1968); Wrede (1986: 73–4). The only other region with honorific herms is Gallia Transpadana (Wrede 1986: 77).



Fig. 15.2 Re-used herm honouring Iamblichus. From Athens. Late fourth century. LSA 135. Athens, Agora Museum, inv. I-3542. H: 50 cm.

monument was probably a deliberate choice, paying homage to the honorand in a traditional way appropriate to his public role.

Like the Iamblichus inscription, LSA 134 and 136, both for one or more persons called Plutarchus, refer to the intellectual brilliance of their honorands (Fig. 15.1). A Plutarchus also awarded the statue for the praetorian prefect Herculus (LSA 137). Most scholars have argued that two different Plutarchi are represented by the three

inscriptions.⁴⁶ In my opinion, it is more likely that all three refer to the same man, the famous head of the Neoplatonic school in Athens in the late fourth and early fifth centuries.⁴⁷

Most of the inscriptions set up to local notables refer to priestly offices or the maintenance of traditional cults by the honorand. This is another distinctive feature of the Athenian evidence. The archon Hegias (LSA 102) was Panyriarch in the Eleusinian cult; Plutarchus the 'king of *logoi*' (LSA 134) took charge of the Panathenaic procession three times, thereby 'spending all his wealth'; Plutarchus, the honorand of LSA 136, was associated with the cults of Zeus and of Asclepius; and the statue of Erotius (LSA 424) was set up in the sanctuary of Demeter and Proserpina because he was a priest of the goddesses. The statue inscription for Dexippus (LSA 141) calls the honorand 'a friend of the immortals'. Iamblichus' inscription (LSA 135) is the only one in this series without reference to religion, and perhaps reflects the fact that he did not hold citizenship in Athens.

SURVIVING STATUARY

The forty-two statuary items from Athens in the LSA database were mainly found out of context, built into later constructions. Seventeen in the National Museum are without any record of provenance. Most are heads, many of them made for insertion into statues (see Figs 15.5 and 15.6). The lack of identifiable late antique bodies is surely due, as elsewhere, to the re-use of earlier statues without any visible reworking.⁴⁸

There are no sure imperial portraits. Two similar heads with cropped hair and stubble beards (LSA 128 and 129) follow the portrait concept of the imperial image in the late third and early

⁴⁶ Most prominently Sironen (1994: 12–13, 47–51; 1997: nos 20, 22). A single identity for all three Plutarchi was claimed by Frantz (1988a: 64).

⁴⁷ For detailed argument, see the 'Discussion' pages of LSA 134, 136, and 137.

⁴⁸ e.g. the himation statues found at the Palace of the Giants: Harrison (1953: nos 57–62).

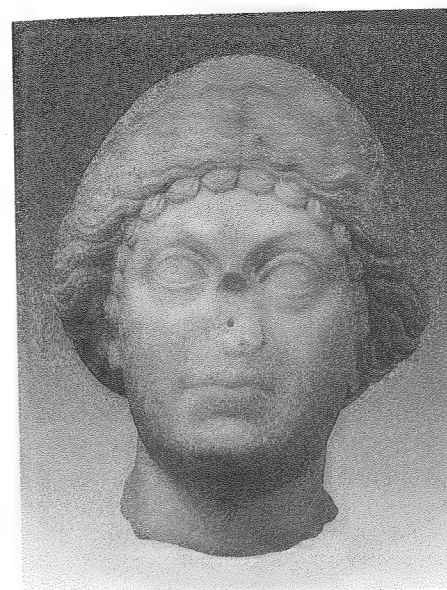


Fig. 15.3 Head of woman with styled fringe. From Athens. Late fourth to earlier fifth century, LSA 2693. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 5257. H: 27.5 cm.

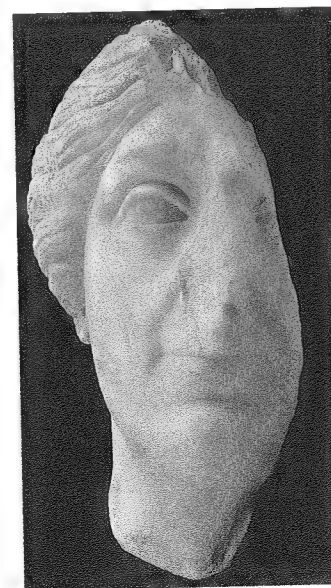


Fig. 15.4 Head of young woman with slight smile. From Athens. Late fourth to earlier fifth century, LSA 2694. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 5262. H: 26.3 cm.

fourth century,⁴⁹ but need not be imperial. Most of the heads are male portraits—thirty-six, against six female. There are only three portraits of cultural figures of the past (LSA 483, 908, and 2510)—perhaps surprising in a city so proud of its cultural heritage. The female portraits were probably, as elsewhere, for private display, since apart from the dedication to the empress Eudocia (LSA 139), no inscriptions for statues of women survive. Two female heads, probably a pair of the period around 400, were found recently in the remains of a private house during the building of the new Acropolis museum in Makriani (LSA 2693 and 2694). They are of remarkably high quality (Figs 15.3 and 15.4).

The statue inscriptions present a ratio of almost 1:1 for imperial office-holders to local notables. We might expect the surviving portrait heads to represent these two honorand categories in roughly the same proportions, but there are no unequivocal iconographic features to attribute the portraits to one or the other group. All heads have striking individualized features, in terms of beard, hairstyle, and facial features. Most have a short or trimmed beard (Figs 15.5 and 15.6), four have long beards (Fig. 15.7), and only two are clean-shaven (Fig. 15.8).⁵⁰ As discussed above, the epigraphic evidence shows clearly how the cultured ideals of the local elite were also adopted by imperial office-holders. How difficult it is to tell local notables and office-holders apart can be seen in the case of the high-quality toga bust LSA 142 (Fig. 15.7). The portrait head has a dense long beard and wide-open eyes. The head alone without the bust would probably be identified as that of a philosopher or 'holy man' (as have two other long-bearded heads from Athens, LSA 131 [Fig. 23.26] and 429). But the form of the toga clearly marks him out as a man of senatorial rank.⁵¹ It remains

⁴⁹ Bergmann (1990).

⁵⁰ Four with long beards: LSA 135, 142 (Fig. 15.3), 429, and 1083. Two clean-shaven: LSA 802 and 2091 (Fig. 15.4). Two further bearded Athenian heads (LSA 126 and 132), generally considered late antique, are dated by us to an earlier period.

⁵¹ See Ch. 7 (Gehn).

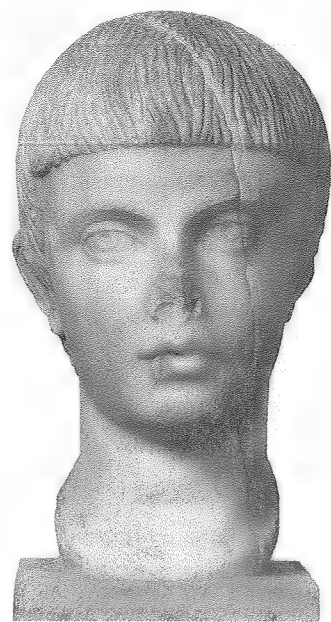


Fig. 15.5 Head of young man with stubble beard, reworked from earlier portrait. From Athens. Mid-third to fifth century, LSA 2295. Athens, Agora Museum, inv. S 1406. H: 40.5 cm.

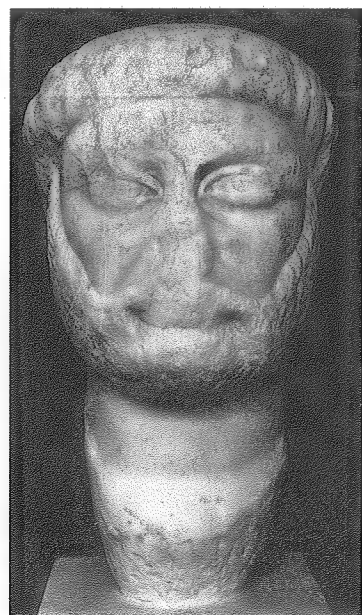


Fig. 15.6 Head of bearded man, reworked from earlier portrait. From Athens. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 130. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. E.582/735. H: 37 cm.



Fig. 15.7 Bust of bearded man wearing toga. From Athens. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 142. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 423. H: 56 cm.



Fig. 15.8 Bust of clean-shaven young man in himation. From Athens. Earlier fourth century, LSA 2091. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 2235. H: 53.1 cm.

impossible to tell whether he was a local notable of senatorial rank or an office-holder with cultural pretensions. Portraits wearing the traditional himation are more likely to represent local notables. Two, both probably made for a private setting (a bust, LSA 2091 (Fig. 15.8), and a statuette, LSA 2301), have the familiar 'arm-sling' posture. The unusual bust LSA 1083 (Fig. 23.14) has a long beard and long hair crowned by a wreath. At its neck part of a garment survives, probably a himation. The wreath probably indicates priestly office, and the man was probably a member of one of the prominent Athenian families that held hereditary priesthoods.

CONCLUSION

A striking particularity of the Athenian evidence is the strong presence of a local aristocracy with its own proud cultural traditions that can be seen in both the epigraphic and sculptural record. Traditional Athenian families maintained priestly duties in Athens and in the great sanctuaries of Eleusis, Epidauros, and Delphi. Priestly offices were still proudly recorded in their inscriptions. Pride in local traditions was strong enough to offer a civic career as a valuable alternative to one in the imperial service. The dignity of municipal office within the city

not only kept locals from pursuing a career abroad but also attracted outsiders and even emperors. Both the distance of Athens from the centres of imperial power and the enduring splendour and attraction of its traditions promoted the city's conservative stand in cultural and religious activities.

Traditionalism also manifests itself in surviving portraits, with beards and 'philosophical' styles more prevalent in Athens than in other parts of the empire. They look back to imagery established centuries earlier. The reluctance, often suspected by modern scholars, of Christian emperors to support a city so openly pagan is perhaps reflected in the lack of inscriptions for imperial statues in the later fourth and fifth centuries. This may, however, merely reflect the relative unimportance of Athens in fourth-century imperial structures of power. No such negligence can be claimed in relation to Constantine I and his dynasty, and imperial statues were anyway generally rare elsewhere in the fifth century. The trajectory of imperial statues set up in Athens is not unusual.

In the early fifth century, Athens and mainland Greece again became a focus of imperial concern, but now for reasons of defence. The main 'statue beneficiary' of this shift in imperial policy was instead the principal agent of imperial power in the region, the praetorian prefect.

CHAPTER 16

Lepcis Magna

Francesca Bigi and Ignazio Tantillo

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Lepcis Magna, an old Phoenician settlement, was one of the richest and most populous cities of Roman Africa (Fig. 4.1), probably second only to Carthage. Lepcis became a municipium under the Flavians and a colony under Trajan, at which time several members of the local elite entered the equestrian and senatorial orders. The importance of the city and the fortunes of some of its notables were further raised by the emperor Septimius Severus (193–211)—a Lepcitan himself—who strengthened the frontier system in the pre-desert (thus ensuring protection also to its innermost territory), bestowed on the city the *ius italicum* (which, among other privileges, gave it tax exemption), and financed a lavish programme of new buildings.¹ The epigraphic habit in Lepcis reaches its peak in the years 160–220. In contrast, evidence for the history of the city in the post-Severan third century is relatively poor. The number of inscriptions decreases significantly (as in the rest of the Roman world). While it would be unsafe to draw conclusions from this fact alone,² there are other signs that confirm stagnation. Archaeological surveys in the suburban area show a clear contraction of the number

of occupied sites, the most impressive aspect of this phenomenon being the abandonment of the maritime villas.³ An increase in imperial property (as a result of Severan confiscations) impoverished local elites and justified the creation of a *regio Tripolitana*, an administrative district of the imperial patrimony.⁴

In c. AD 303 Lepcis became the capital of the freshly created province of Tripolitania, entrusted to a *praeses* with the rank of *perfectissimus*. Probably around the same time new city walls were built, encircling an area of about 130 hectares.⁵ In the following decades, inscriptions testify to urban vitality. Lepcis was still prosperous in the middle of the fourth century, when raids of the Moorish tribes (Austuriani, later Laguatan) into imperial territory increased dramatically.⁶ First mentions of frontier unrest can be found in documents dating from the mid-350s. This was followed by a series of raids in AD 363–5 that seriously affected the suburbs of Lepcis and Oea; further problems are attested in the following decades and until the end of Roman rule.⁷

³ Munzi (2010: 56).

⁴ Di Vita-Evrard (1985a).

⁵ Creation of the province: Di Vita-Evrard (1985b). City walls: Goodchild and Ward-Perkins (1953); Rebuffat (1989: 131); their chronology remains uncertain: Pentiricci (2010: 166–7).

⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus 28.6.4.

⁷ On the Austuriani/Laguatan: Mattingly (1983); Modéran (2003: 209–35). A detailed account of the incursions of AD 363–5 is given by Ammianus Marcellinus 28.6 (on which:

The measures adopted by the central government to handle these threats proved ineffective. It seems that many landowners began to doubt imperial military capability and tried to escape their civic duties, leaving the cities of Tripolitania in serious difficulties.⁸ As far as Lepcis is concerned, the traces of the crisis are clearly visible: the Valentinianic period, which represents some sort of a late apogee in the rest of Africa, is almost silent here. Military troubles are probably a better explanation for this decline than the traditional one, which has stressed the role of an extremely violent earthquake, supposedly in AD 365.⁹ Former arguments against the seismic hypothesis¹⁰ have recently been strengthened by geological corings carried out throughout the city and by a thorough re-examination of the archaeological evidence: among other things, surveys have shown that the destructive collapse of the dam retaining the waters of the Wadi Lebdaḥ was the consequence, not of an earthquake, but rather of lack of maintenance.¹¹

Whatever the cause, in the first half of the fifth century deep and structural transformations affected the city's monumental landscape. Large parts of it began to be covered by sand or by flood debris, and at least a part of the harbour became inoperable. The new Byzantine city was much smaller and, after the Arab conquest, was reduced to only a small stronghold.¹² At the end of the seventeenth century, Lepcis was looted first by the French consul Claude Lemaire and then by other westerners, who shipped columns and other materials to Europe.¹³ In the twentieth century Italian archaeologists, working on the site with massive resources provided to bolster colonial propaganda, uncovered all the major public areas.¹⁴ The city's early abandonment, the

lack of subsequent resettlement, and the extensive excavations are all factors that allowed the recovery of abundant material, including around 650 inscriptions (with a further 100 unpublished), mostly of a public character.¹⁵ The late inscriptions of Lepcis, one sixth of the total, were the object of a systematic re-examination by the authors of this article in the years 2001–6, with many of them being re-edited and reinterpreted, shedding new light on the history of Lepcis in the later Roman period.¹⁶

OVERALL QUANTITIES: HONORANDS AND AWARDS

Lepcitans seem to have had a continuous interest in statues, at least in honorific ones. Around 200 statue supports appear in *IRT* and in subsequent publications; others are still unpublished. The chronological distribution of honorific inscriptions from Lepcis is comparable to that of other North African cities (with some peculiarities to which we will return): a survey based only on datable material shows a gradual increase during the first two centuries, a peak under Severus and Caracalla, a sudden drop in the post-Severan age (with a concentration in the age of Gallienus), and finally, a recovery in the tetrarchic period.¹⁷

Compared to that of the first three centuries, the late statue habit in Lepcis shows elements of both continuity and discontinuity (Fig. 16.1). Seventy-six inscriptions survive relating to statues from the period c. AD 280–425: twenty-two honour emperors; not fewer than twenty-six are for holders of imperial or senatorial offices (one praetorian prefect, two proconsuls, one *legatus*, four *vicarii*, one *comes rei militaris per Africam*, two *duces*, thirteen governors, and two individuals of unknown office); sixteen honour

Günther 1997). On the Austurian raids in the 2nd half of the 4th and beginning of the 5th c.: Felici et al. (2006).

⁸ Felici et al. (2006: 610–14); Tantillo (2010a: 22–7).

⁹ Esp. Di Vita (1990).

¹⁰ Jacques and Bousquet (1984); Lepelley (1984); Henry (1985).

¹¹ Pantosti (2009); Pentiricci (2010).

¹² Cirelli (2001).

¹³ Romanelli (1925: 45–65); on Lemaire: Laronde (1993).

¹⁴ Altekamp (2000); Munzi (2001).

¹⁵ Funerary inscriptions are a minority; Christian epigraphy is virtually nonexistent. Tantillo (2010a: 39); Duval (1988: 303–7).

¹⁶ Tantillo and Bigi (2010). The standard edition of Lepcitan texts is *IRT*; a new online edition (*IRT2009*) includes English translations.

¹⁷ Tantillo (2010b).

¹ Di Vita (1982: 588–94); Mattingly (1988; 1995: 155–7); Savino (1999: 129, 142–6). Severan apogee: Cordovana (2007); Severan monuments: Ward-Perkins et al. (1993).

² Dupuis (1992); Fentress (1981: 179).

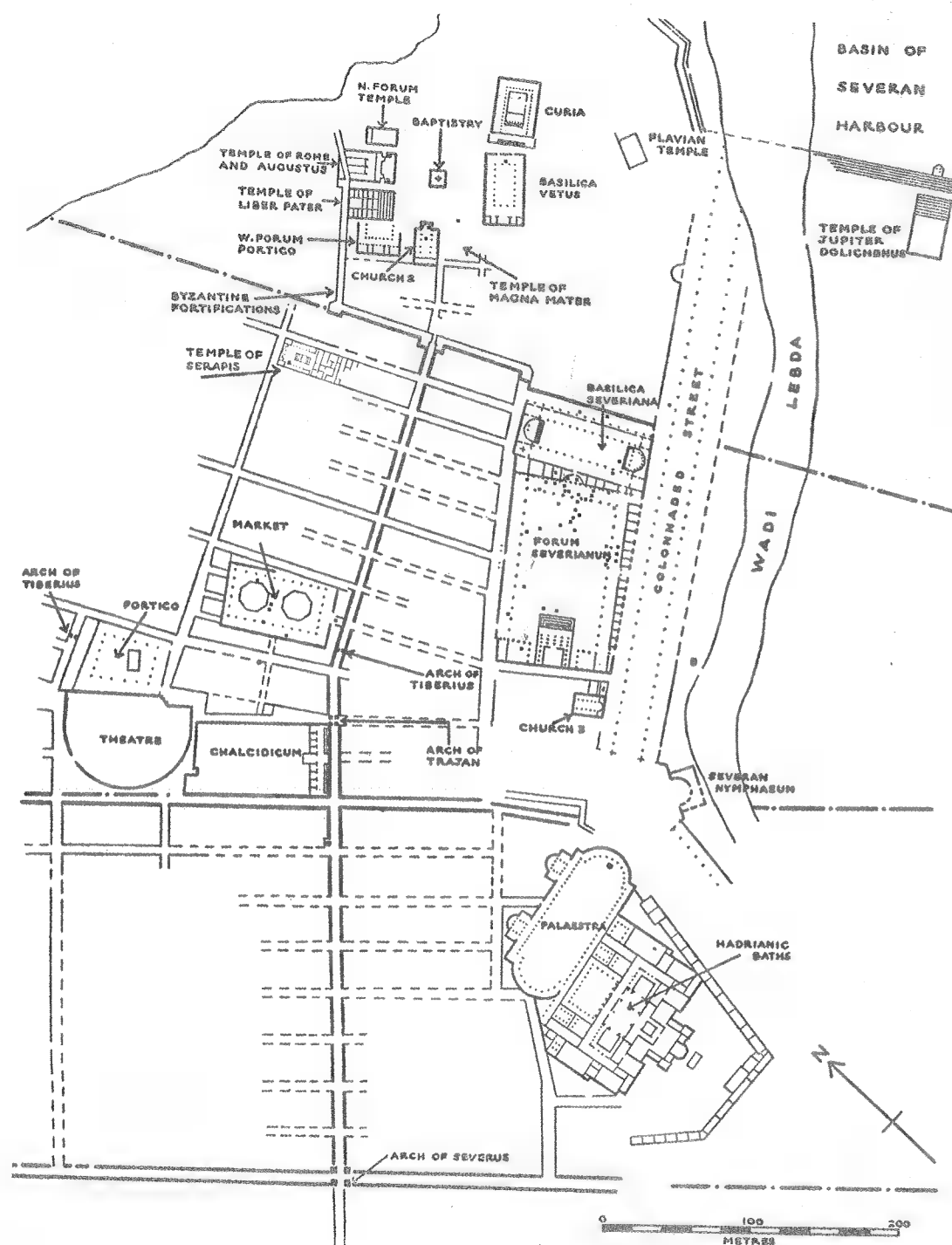


Fig. 16.1 Lepcis Magna. Plan of the central area with black squares indicating present location of late antique statue bases.

local notables; and the remaining are of various types.¹⁸ Fragments of marble statues, some of which show late antique reworking, have also been found in various sectors of the city, but many of these are still unpublished (seventeen are listed in the LSA database).

Above all, these figures are exceptional. In terms of numbers of statues, as testified by their bases, Lepcis is by far the foremost city in the African provinces¹⁹ and outdistances the other centres of the western empire.²⁰ In fact, only Rome has yielded more evidence. Lepcis can even challenge the richest cities of the eastern provinces (again with the exception of Constantinople), such as Aphrodisias, Ephesus, and Athens. The main difference is that eastern cities present a larger number of surviving published statuary. The ratio of extant inscribed bases to statuary fragments in Lepcis is 75:17, whereas in Aphrodisias it is 40:64, in Ephesus 45:49, and in Athens 42:20.

The quality of the Lepcitan evidence is also noteworthy. We may be brief on the imperial dedications, whose number, however consistent, is proportional to the importance of the city. The habit of setting up statues for emperors was alive throughout Africa. There is evidence for fifteen late imperial statues from Cuicul, nine from Cirta, and nine from Thamugadi; even in the smallest centres, it is not unusual to find dedications to emperors well into the Theodosian period.²¹ So, whereas the number of imperial statues is not surprising, the contribution of

Lepcis to the statuary of imperial office-holders and local notables is much more remarkable.

With its twenty-six inscribed supports, Lepcis alone provides 50 per cent of dedications to holders of imperial and senatorial offices from African provinces and between 10 and 14 per cent of those from the whole empire. Office-holders (military and civilian) are always honoured as patrons; this is a common feature not exclusive to Lepcis.²² Honorands were co-opted as patrons probably shortly after their term of office and were subsequently awarded a statue, which was presumably negotiated during their office. Statues were therefore actually set up after the office-holder's departure, as enforced by an ancient law.²³ Their language is sometimes extremely elaborate—as customary in this period²⁴—and some instances (LSA 2185 and 2186) even suggest that the dedicatory texts could be simplified versions of the municipal decrees ordering the statues to be erected. (In former times, the entire decree was occasionally inscribed on one side of the base.)²⁵

It is certain that the promotion of Lepcis to the status of governor's seat played a decisive role in enhancing the number of statues dedicated to imperial office-holders, since only seven or eight dedications to proconsuls or *legati* are attributable with confidence to the period before AD 284. At first sight, the large number of late antique dedications to imperial office-holders might be explained by the fact that Lepcis is the only African capital whose late epigraphy is substantially preserved, while the sites of Carthage, Hadrumetum, Cirta, Sitifis, and Caesarea have all suffered from post-Roman occupation that has affected, in different ways, the survival of their documentation. This explanation alone, however, seems insufficient, as we shall see.

¹⁸ Four may honour either holders of imperial offices or local notables (LSA 2209–12); four fall in the *conlocavit* category (LSA 2219–22), while the remaining three were erected in honour of deities (LSA 2215, 2216, and 2218).

¹⁹ No other North African city reaches 30 late antique statue inscriptions; the richest were Carthage, Lambaesis, Cuicul, and Thamugadi.

²⁰ In the LSA database, Puteoli has 33 records (26 inscribed supports and 7 statuary fragments), Beneventum has 26, Aquileia 25, Salona 15, and Tarraco 13.

²¹ There are over 200 imperial statue bases from Diocletian to Honorius in the provinces of Roman Africa. Statuary evidence from the same provinces is, by contrast, extremely poor: just over 40 records (for all categories of honorands) in the LSA database.

²² Krause (1987a; 1987b); Horster (1998: 48).

²³ One possible exception is LSA 2179, where the honorand is not styled as a patron and seems to have personally financed the monument.

²⁴ Chastagnol (1988); Salomies (1994; 2000); Panciera (2006); Creté (2010). Specifically at Lepcis: Christol (1983); Marmouri (2008); Tantillo (2010b).

²⁵ ILS 6680; IAM II 307; CIL XI 6123; IRT 602.

The sixteen statues recorded for leading decurions and other local notables (mostly concentrated in the period 280–330; none of them apparently after the 380s) are also noteworthy. If compared to the sixty-eight or more such statue bases from the first three centuries, this evidence indicates a decline. But the decline is much less marked than in the rest of the empire. In the five provinces of North Africa, there are only around forty statue honours of this type—Lepcis, with sixteen, thus provides 40 per cent of the total. Even this low figure for local dedications outside Lepcis is highly optimistic: around half of them should be dated broadly from the second half of the third century to the beginning of the fourth,²⁶ and only seventeen belong without doubt to the fourth, mostly to its first three decades.²⁷ This is a meagre number if one thinks that in a small city like Gigthis no fewer than twenty-seven statues of local benefactors were erected between the late first and the early third centuries.²⁸ Let us observe that Lepcis' contribution for the fourth century is heavy: ten out of seventeen.²⁹ The habit of honouring local notables with statues was on the wane everywhere else, and its exceptional survival in Lepcis can be explained by the strong conservatism of the Lepcitan elite.³⁰

Another transformation concerns awarders: in early imperial Lepcis, awarders of statues, especially but not only those for members of the local elite, were often one or more individuals acting in a personal capacity (and receiving permission to

do so from the *ordo*). This is a general phenomenon: in the African provinces alone, no fewer than 2,000 statues were dedicated during the first three centuries by private individuals.³¹ In late antique Lepcis (as in the whole of Africa) virtually the totality of statues was dedicated publicly, by the *ordo* or by the entire citizenship;³² the *populus* still took part in decreeing statues and in commending honorands through its *suffragia*, probably expressed in the form of acclamations. The disappearance of private awarders may have been due mainly to the vanishing of honours for municipal aristocrats. But one may also conjecture that some role was played by an unknown imperial law restricting the right to erect statues in public spaces.³³ Whatever the case, this is an important consideration. In terms of honour, to offer a statue was no less significant than to receive one.³⁴ Thus, the importance of the disappearance of private awarders—either because this instrument of self-celebration lost its appeal or because the right to set up statues was made more difficult—is crucial and should not be underestimated.

A palaeographical analysis of the late inscriptions also reveals a general transformation in the relationship between the various ingredients of statuary monuments. The Antonine and Severan examples make it clear that the inscription on the statue base was then seen as an integral part of the monument, with the textual message ideally addressed to the whole community: a formal system of communication was developed (involving graphic devices and ordered layouts) in order to make those texts widely intelligible. In the fourth century, this system simply disappeared. Traditional graphic forms ceased to be used and were not replaced by another paradigm; in parallel, the *ordinatio* (laying-out of the inscription) no longer played the central role it

²⁶ Esp. LSA 2330, 2344, 2348, 2387, 2410, 2454, 2455, 2469 (probably dated even before AD 250), 2475, 2477, 2479, and 2506. *CIL* VIII 24095 = *ILS* 5361 is dated to 282 and LSA 2309 to 286–305. LSA 2336 is fragmentary but undoubtedly refers to a statue base of a local notable (compare *in patriam*; so also Lepellet 1981: 378). For LSA 2349 and 2350, the type of honorand is uncertain.

²⁷ Proconsularis: LSA 2450, 2451, 2466, and 2468; the honorand of LSA 2480 is celebrated as a governor, not as a simple local notable. Byzacena: LSA 2305. Tripolitania (outside Lepcis): LSA 2332 and *IRT* 111.

²⁸ Tantillo (forthcoming).

²⁹ LSA 2191 and 2196 belong more probably to the 3rd c., but 10 (LSA 2192 and 2198–2206) were certainly set up after c. 300.

³⁰ On Lepcitan conservatism: Lepellet (1981).

³¹ Wesch-Klein (1990: 8).

³² In one case by the provincial council (LSA 2206).

³³ The erection of statues in metal was regulated, in a restrictive sense, at some point in the late 3rd or early 4th c. (Feissel 1984); in 4th- and 5th-c. Rome, the setting up of a statue needed imperial permission (Chastagnol 1960: 363–8).

³⁴ Eck (1994).

did before. The necessity to present the written word with extreme clarity, at first so urgent, seems to have become less significant, less compelling. The city continued to express its gratitude towards its benefactors through the dedication of statues, but the texts accompanying this gesture were no longer comprehensible to all. Only the *signum*, a synthetic 'label' physically detached from the body of the text, ensured the survival of a link between the iconographic and textual components of the monument.³⁵

FORMS OF INSCRIBED SUPPORT

In terms of their formal characteristics, any evaluation of Lepcis' late monuments requires an evaluation of the city's earlier monuments. With the exception of two, or maybe three, statue bases,³⁶ the supports bearing late antique inscriptions are in fact all re-used. This is of some importance, since it shows, above all, that in late antique Lepcis no urge was felt to modify the aesthetic canons that had been established during the city's Golden Age—that is, the second century and especially the first quarter of the third. Wandering through the ruins of the Severan Forum, one thus gets the impression of an uninterrupted formal continuity well into the later period.

As in most cities of the western part of the empire, so too in Lepcis, the formal repertory of inscribed supports is highly repetitious, consisting in most cases of standardized statue bases, with very few other forms. The most common kind of support is the monolithic base, composed of a rectangular or square shaft set between a moulded crown and a similarly moulded socle, with the front, and less frequently the sides, generally enriched by the presence of a *cyma*-moulded frame enclosing the text (Fig. 16.2).

³⁵ Del Corso (2010); for the role of the *signum* as a label: Tantillo (2010b: 201–3).

³⁶ LSA 2194, 2212, and possibly LSA 2185, the base dedicated to Archontius Nilus in the Old Forum, which might otherwise be an earlier artefact discarded for its poor-quality marble: see Bigi (2010: 235–7).

Tripartite composite bases made up of a rectangular shaft—often furnished with a frame—and detached upper and lower mouldings were equally common in the earlier empire but were less frequently re-used in late antiquity, because they were often carved out of local limestone (Fig. 16.3).

The material used for the bases is not a subsidiary element: it provides important evidence not only of a change in taste but also of the type and quantity of resources available in different periods. In particular, before the Severan period statue bases in marble were uncommon, the majority being in local stone, whereas later marble became the qualitative standard and limestone was less and less employed. This development was intimately connected to the building programme established by the Severan emperors. Prior to their work, marble was a highly valued material employed only in special cases (such as imperial dedications), while the closing of their intense building programme, and especially the abandonment of part of the overly ambitious project, endowed Lepcis with a large quantity of raw, semi-carved, and finished materials that supplied the local market for the next decades. After a peak in the Severan age, the production of new bases began to decline around 240 and had virtually ceased by the end of the third century. By then the Severan marble legacy had been fully exploited, and re-use became the norm. Because almost all the late antique bases in Lepcis are re-used earlier pieces, there are only a few examples of the late antique tendency documented at Ephesus and Aphrodisias for statue supports to become taller and more slender in design (Fig. 16.4).

Inscriptions were not always engraved directly onto the base: several examples, for both ordinary and equestrian statues,³⁷ have a large rectangular cavity cut into the front, into which a marble or bronze plaque bearing the body of the text would have been set. In these cases, only the

³⁷ In general, see Bigi (2010: 227–8). Equestrian bases: Bigi and Tantillo (2010: fig. 8.13 and pl. 27). Normal bases: Bigi (2010: fig. 7.9 and pl. 27); LSA 2165 and 2196.

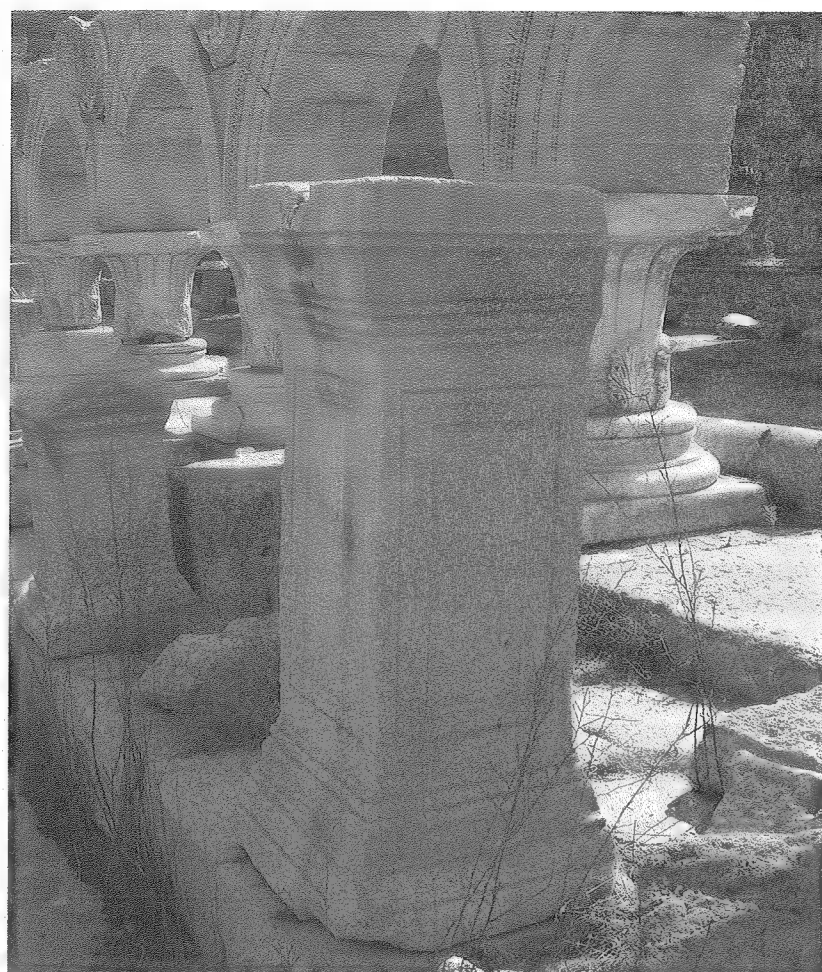


Fig. 16.2 Monolithic third-century statue base in Proconnesian marble, re-used, Lepcis Magna. 394, 396 or 402, LSA 2160. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 145 cm.

detached *signum* now survives on the actual base (Fig. 16.5). This peculiar technique is again connected to the practice of re-use. If two or more previous inscriptions had been removed, the epigraphic field might have been taken down too far or become too battered to be newly written on. A supplementary writing surface offered a less time-consuming and less expensive solution than refinishing the surface of the base. This expedient proved particularly efficient in the case of limestone and sandstone bases. In other instances, the insertion of a marble plaque could be a reflection of aesthetic concerns.

As was usual in the empire, equestrian statues were placed on long rectangular bases, with the original inscription generally engraved on one of the short sides. In late Lepcis, this kind of support was not always re-used for equestrian monuments. Its considerable length was exploited in a new way: the base could be turned into a support for a pair of standing statues with the related texts on one of the long sides. Two similar compositions of this type stood in the Severan Forum: one with statues of the Augusti Constantius and Galerius (LSA 2149), the other with statues of Constantius II and Constantius Gallus (LSA 2153)



Fig. 16.3 Statue base, originally in three parts, of Pentelic marble, re-used, Lepcis Magna. Early fourth century, LSA 2202. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 104 cm.

(Fig. 16.6). The latter, in particular, displays a wish to push this honorific form to a further level: the two inscriptions are carved side by side and are divided by a longitudinal line, as if the stonecutter wanted to suggest that these were a pair of flanked, separate statue bases. It is important to note that the statues were arranged according to a hierarchical pattern: in the case of the base for Constantius II and Constantius Gallus, the Caesar (Gallus) was placed to the viewer's left of the Augustus.³⁸

As early as AD 201, and well into the fourth century, finished yet unemployed architectural elements—left over from the Severan building programme—were turned into statue bases

³⁸ Tantillo and Bigi (2010: 326).



Fig. 16.4 Slender statue base carved in local limestone, Lepcis Magna. c.250–75, LSA 2194. Lepcis Magna, Macellum. H: 181 cm.

(Fig. 16.7). Because their shape closely resembled that of monolithic statue bases, column pedestals were frequently re-used throughout the Roman empire; but in Lepcis this practice seems to have been met with particular favour. At least nine pedestals were here employed for epigraphic purposes, with no fewer than fifteen inscriptions carved over time onto their faces.³⁹

³⁹ IRT 401 and 606; an erased text on a pedestal later used as a support for ideal sculpture: Bigi and Tantillo (2010: fig. 8.6 and pl. 26); LSA 2167, 2199, and 2213. On the same pedestal: LSA 2159, 2168, and 2182, plus a previously lost text; LSA 2173, 2186, and an unpublished inscription for Gallienus over a previously erased one.



Fig. 16.5 Re-used monolithic base with cavity for insertion of marble slab with later inscription, Lepcis Magna. Fourth century, LSA 2210. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 150 cm.



Fig. 16.7 Severan-period column pedestal re-used as late antique statue base, Lepcis Magna. 324–6, LSA 2213. Lepcis Magna, Old Forum. H: 146 cm.

Lastly, honorific monuments could take the form of a small tetrapylon to support a two-horsed statuary group (Fig. 16.8), a design seemingly derived from honorific arches. The only inscription surviving on such a tetrapylon is probably of the second half of the third



Fig. 16.6 Re-used equestrian base turned into support for pair of imperial statues, Lepcis Magna. 352–4, LSA 2153. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 74 cm.



Fig. 16.8 View of three honorific monuments in form of small tetrapyla, one made of re-used marble statue bases. Lepcis Magna, Macellum.

century,⁴⁰ but indirect evidence shows that this kind of monument remained in fashion throughout the later period.⁴¹ Again, this seems to be extraordinary: monuments in the form of *bigae* were occasionally used in the early empire, in particular to celebrate donors of *munera* in the amphitheatre, but they eventually disappeared almost everywhere else.⁴² The survival of such monuments in Lepcis is another sign of local traditionalism in the statue habit—and of course clear evidence of the continuity of this kind of euergetism well into late antiquity.

STATUES

Compared to the vast amount of epigraphic testimony, the statuary evidence appears thin. Yet this

is only an apparent contradiction: the excavations of Lepcis did yield a considerable quantity of sculpture, but most of it still awaits publication. Our appreciation of the honorific monuments of Lepcis is therefore disjointed and somewhat stilted. Needless to say, the few characteristics that can be outlined stand only as provisional results, which future research might alter, possibly in a substantial way.

To judge from the published material, it seems that statuary followed the same pattern as that outlined for the bases. There were virtually no newly carved artefacts after the later third century, only statues of earlier periods re-used and partially adapted to fit the latest honorand and the current fashion. Such adjustments seem to have been carried out solely through the recarving of the heads, namely by modifying the facial features and the hairstyles,⁴³ while the bodies seem to have remained untouched. This is what can be observed on the few complete statues

⁴⁰ LSA 2196.

⁴¹ Two monuments are composed of re-used late 3rd-c. statue bases: Bigi and Tantillo (2010: 280–81, pl. 2), and Bigi (2010: 251).

⁴² Compare the case of LSA 2309.

⁴³ See LSA 1014, 1156, 2137–42, 2513, 2514, 2605, 2606, and 2608.

known so far, such as an Antonine cuirassed figure with its portrait head reworked to represent an emperor or prince of the early fourth century (LSA 1126, Fig. 16.9),⁴⁴ or the two *togati* found in the Severan Forum near their re-used bases (LSA 2136 with 2178, and 2609 with 2202, Figs 16.10 and 23.1),⁴⁵ one of which was again connected to a recarved head.

Information about the material of the statues is occasionally supplied by inscribed bases that specify the nature of the statue awarded.⁴⁶ The only bronze statue explicitly mentioned is one dedicated within the Temple of Serapis to the poet Serenus Dulcitus (LSA 2199). A marble statue is referred to in the inscribed eulogy of a vicar, who is most probably to be identified with Antonius Dracontius (LSA 2172), and on the base of the *comes et praeses*, Fl. Nepotianus (LSA 2187). The long inscription commemorating both the restoration of the Basilica Vetus in the Old Forum and the erection of a statue for Constantine is more informative: it specifies that the emperor was portrayed in a *statua marmorea suo numine radians*—that is, in a marble figure whose head was encircled by a crown of gilded rays (LSA 2213). Five other inscriptions mention statues without indication of their material;⁴⁷ in theory, such statues should all have been of marble, since the texts bear no mention of an imperial decree giving permission for the honour of a bronze statue.

In conclusion, in the case of Lepcis, late antique practice was not to erect 'new' honorific monuments but rather to rededicate older ones, with minimum adjustments that consisted of re-carving the heads and the texts. Honorific statue monuments thus retained most of their original



Fig. 16.9 High-imperial cuirassed statue with reworked portrait head. From Lepcis Magna. Late third to early fourth century, LSA 1126. Tripolis Museum.

appearance, and the assemblages found in some eastern cities made of diverse elements superimposed to form new, taller compositions are totally unknown in Lepcis. Ultimately, such recycling meant that the 'new' monuments did not add to the extant patrimony of statues, but instead depleted it. By the fourth century, a place such as the Severan Forum boasted only a multitude of late monuments and not, as for example in many Aphrodisian contexts (Chapter 12, Smith), a multitude of late monuments dedicated alongside earlier ones. Only the emperors and the governors of the later Roman era reigned over this space, while apparently no member of the Severan dynasty was still honoured with a statue in the lavish buildings that they themselves had paid for.

⁴⁴ For such identification: Bergmann (1977: 154–65, pl. 46.5); see also Bianchi (2005: 295) and Bigi and Tantillo (2010: fig. 8.14).

⁴⁵ See also LSA 2411 with 2181 and the discussion in Ch. 22 (Lenaghan).

⁴⁶ The material of the statue can sometimes also be deduced from the upper surfaces of the bases, which, however, can display multiple traces left by repeated re-use.

⁴⁷ LSA 2181, 2183, 2185, 2186, and 2198.



Fig. 16.10 Lepcis Magna. East side of Severan Forum during excavation.

DISTRIBUTION OF STATUES WITHIN THE CITYSCAPE

In comparison to earlier times, the late Roman period is characterized by a reduction of the number of settings for statue display, now essentially limited to the Severan Forum, the Old Forum, and the Macellum (Fig. 16.1).⁴⁸ The Theatre, the Amphitheatre, and the Hadrianic Baths, which in earlier times had hosted several honorific statues, were still in use but received virtually no new monuments.⁴⁹ Around fifty late inscriptions relating to statues come from the

Severan Forum and its adjoining basilica (Fig. 16.11).⁵⁰ This complex, dedicated in AD 216, had become the most prestigious public space of the colony. In the vast piazza, the pattern of distribution of statues seems to have obeyed some loose rules. Bases of emperors are only found along the north and south porticoes, while inscriptions celebrating governors are concentrated on the east side near the basilica, which may have been used as the governor's judgement

and Tantillo (2010: 279–80); however, a late female portrait head (LSA 2142) was retrieved in this complex.

⁵⁰ These include a small group of dedications to the Genius of the colony (LSA 2215 and 2216; Lepelley 1992a). In contrast, fragments of only 11 marble statues were found by archaeologists: Caputo (1974: 176). That scarcity must be partly due to modern plundering, since Lemaire (1902: 1046) states that he saw fragments of more than 30 statues in this area.

⁴⁸ There are only a few exceptions (LSA 2199 and 2218–22).

⁴⁹ Lefebvre (1994); now Witschel (2007: 147–9). Statue display in the Theatre: Lee (2003–4). For the Hadrianic Baths, late restorations (two at least in the 4th c.: *LMCat.* 70 and *LMCat.* 75) seem to have implied a re-display of ideal sculptures: Bigi

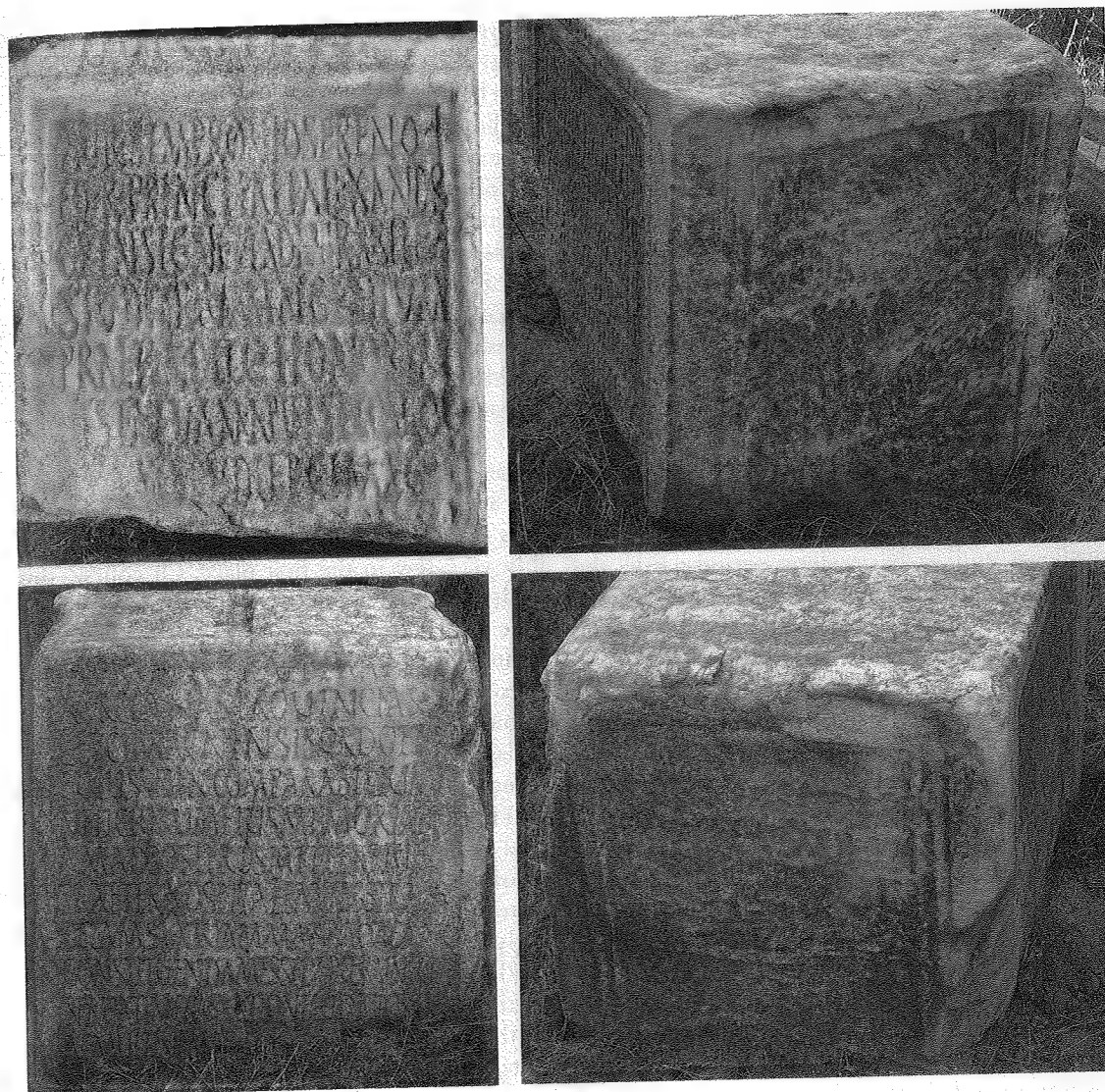
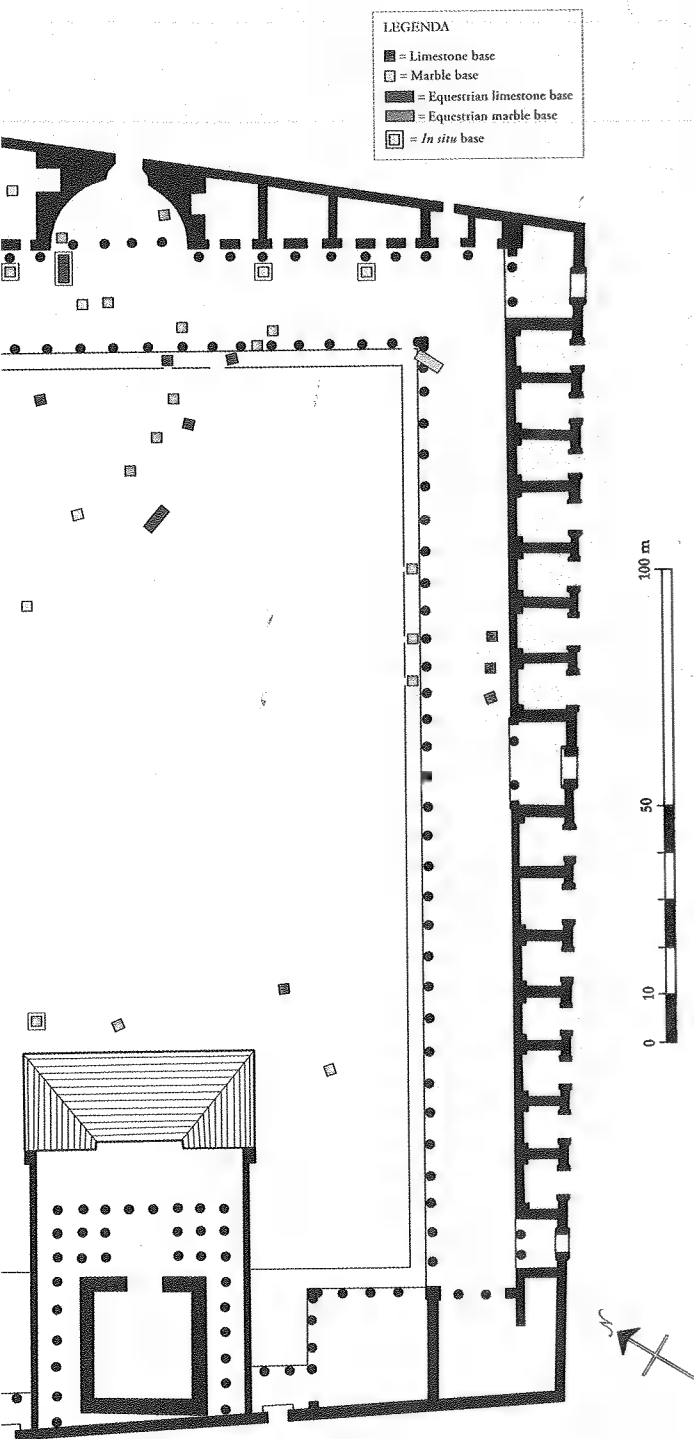


Fig. 16.12 Marble base used four times, Lepcis Magna. Late third to fourth century, LSA 2198, and 364-7, LSA 2172. Lepcis Magna, Severan Forum. H: 40 cm.

hall. Since all the inscriptions are written on re-used supports, the Severan Forum appears as a dynamic space, where evolution did not progress by accumulation but by continuous selection (Fig. 16.12). A different situation can be observed in the Old Forum, where a huge number (over 100) of inscribed statue supports have been found,⁵¹ but

only five from late antiquity, all of which seem related to individuals who promoted restorations in the area.⁵² It is clear that this space had lost its primacy as a site for new statue display. A more specific role seems to have been played by the

Macellum, restored and enlarged in AD 324–6.⁵³ This building hosted monuments in honour of leading fourth-century notables who were involved in the trade of wild beasts and were themselves givers of games in the amphitheatre.⁵⁴ One of them, Amelius, seems also to have taken part in the restoration of the building (LSA 2205).⁵⁵

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The reasons for the exceptional quantity of evidence for statues in Lepcis are many: the size of the city; its status as a seat of provincial government; its early abandonment; the lack of urban continuity and relative lack of disturbance in the medieval and early modern periods; and the extensive uncovering of the main public areas. Though obviously relevant, these factors alone do not account for the survival well into late antiquity of such a lavish statue habit.

We can wonder whether a similar richness once characterized the other provincial capitals of Africa (a region in which the statue habit survived better into late antiquity than in most of the Roman world), and whether it is only due to different states of preservation and investigation that Lepcis now stands out as exceptional. But a close investigation of the evidence suggests that more lies behind the large number of dedications in Lepcis, and their scarcity elsewhere, than mere chance. Admittedly, there is little doubt that the surviving evidence from Carthage (twenty records in the LSA database) cannot be representative of the original statuary decoration of the most important city of Africa, and that the same applies to Hadrumetum, in wealthy Byzacena, from which not a single statue has survived,

and probably also to Sitifis (only five records) and even Cirta (sixteen records).⁵⁶ All of these sites have suffered from continuity of occupation or limited archaeological investigation, which have surely affected their evidence. But the case of Caesarea, where urban continuity has also severely limited our knowledge of the ancient levels, shows that this is not necessarily the reason for a lack of late antique epigraphic evidence.⁵⁷ From the whole of the late Roman period, Caesarea has yielded only one dedication (to Maxentius), whereas from the period between 107 and c. 260 thirty-three monuments to *procuratores* (governors) are known.⁵⁸ Since these statue bases were found scattered throughout the area of ancient Caesarea, the lack of late ones can hardly be accidental; there were probably very few in the first place. Of course, this might be explained by a change in the way texts were displayed under the statues. Were they now painted, or perhaps engraved on bronze plaques? These are of course possibilities, but for the moment the simplest and most economical explanation is that, with the fourth century, the statue habit in Caesarea more or less vanished, even though the city remained an important political centre. This need not necessarily apply to the other African capitals, but it should put us on guard against ascribing scarcity of late evidence solely to external factors.

Whether exceptional or not, at Lepcis the erecting of statues remained in fashion throughout the fourth century. In our opinion, two inter-related factors combined to determine the strong Lepcitan statue habit and its vitality into the late Roman period. First, Lepcitans had always shown a marked enthusiasm for using this

⁵⁶ The ancient city centres of both Hadrumetum and Sitifis lie under the medieval and modern towns: Foucher (1964: 16, 146, 325–6); Février (1964). On Cirta and its public areas, see now Benseddik (2005: esp. 259–60). Of the 16 dedications at Cirta, no fewer than 6 are to Constantine, to whom (as the 'refounder' of the city) there were special reasons to be grateful.

⁵⁷ Archaeological knowledge of the urban centre of Caesarea is limited: Leveau (1984: 40–47); Benseddik and Potter (1993: 23–49).

⁵⁸ Erkelenz (2003: 276–8); also Haensch (1997: 112–15).

instrument to pay homage to powerful patrons, to representatives of Roman power, and to leading notables and benefactors. They had in fact already begun under the Julio-Claudians to produce statues early in comparison to other parts of Africa.⁵⁹ Furthermore, they developed a local custom, in the second and third centuries, of erecting statues *ex testamento*: dead notables were honoured by their heirs with the erection of a statue as a condition for receiving the inheritance.⁶⁰ In Lepcis, the practice of erecting statues (and not only honorific ones) played a particularly important role in defining social status and relations between leading families.

⁵⁹ Wesch-Klein (1990: 109–10).

⁶⁰ *Digesta* 35.1.14 (Pomponius); see Jacques (1986: 554, 774) for a discussion of this practice, uncommon elsewhere.

Secondly, this enthusiasm for statues was encouraged and expedited by the availability of good stone, and especially by the flood of material that entered the city in the late Antonine and Severan age. Lepcis was then provided with a huge amount of marble, disproportionate to its actual needs (especially after the original Severan building programme was abandoned): thus we see column pedestals used for statue bases already in Severan times. Once the exuberance of the Severan age had passed, Lepcis found itself with plenty of older statues and continued to decree them—albeit at a slower pace—by recycling its inherited monumental patrimony, which had in many cases become redundant. Once the city was promoted to the status of a provincial capital, its continuing love of statues had reason to be revitalized. The physical materials and the motivation to sustain the statue habit were both available.

⁵³ *LMCat.* 73; Pentiricci (2010: 120–6) (with Bigi).

⁵⁴ So LSA 2196, a tetrapylon with *biga* for one Porphyrius. Also the honorand of LSA 2203, whose 'beastly' munificence is proved by LSA 2202.

⁵⁵ Nothing can be said on the possible connection of the family of Clementilla (honoured by LSA 2194) with euergetic activity or the beast trade.

Gortyna

Francesca Bigi and Ignazio Tantillo

STATUES IN LATE ANTIQUE GORTYNA

Gortyna, an ancient Greek city in the Valley of the Messara, was the seat of the governor of the province of Crete, which had been detached from Cyrenaica under the tetrarchy. Initially assigned to an equestrian *praeses*, it was later entrusted to a *consularis* and became part of the diocese of Macedonia, which meant that from c.337 Crete was normally under the authority of the praetorian prefect of Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. Later, not long after Theodosius' death in 395, it was transferred to the prefecture of Illyricum and attached to the eastern empire.¹ The ruins of Gortyna impressed travellers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who noted the existence of statues and inscriptions (some of which they transcribed). Various sectors of the city have been the object of excavations by Italian archaeologists since the end of the nineteenth century.²

Together with a few fragments of statuary, a considerable number of late Roman statue bases were found in Gortyna, most of which were published in the *Inscriptiones Creticae*. More recent archaeological research in the area of the Praetorium has added three further inscriptions: two statue bases—one celebrating a *vicarius* and

the other a governor—and fragments of a third inscription interpreted as a dedication to a military commander of the fifth century.³ If we exclude a series of tetrarchic dedications from scattered locations (LSA 59, 63, 89, and 772), all the evidence is concentrated in the area of the Praetorium, which clearly played an important role for statue display in the late fourth century (Fig. 17.1). Out of the six fragments of statuary recorded in the LSA database (LSA 856–61), five were found in the Praetorium area, while the provenance of one is unknown.

The Praetorium, basilical in form, stands at the junction of the two main roads of the Roman city. The building, as uncovered by excavation, was the result of a long series of restorations, the last of which occurred in the seventh century,⁴ when the area was still important in the public life of the city, as attested by acclamations to the emperor Heraclius and his family found on the columns of the nearby nymphaeum (IC IV 512). The chronological range of the inscribed statue bases is, however, much earlier, ranging from c.340 (LSA 785) to no later than c.440.⁵ Most of these bases were re-used in later restorations and were therefore not strictly found in situ.

³ Lippolis et al. (2009: 117, pl. 7); Vallarino (forthcoming); Gasperini (2004: 157–8); Magnelli (2006) (= SEG 56, 1049).

⁴ Di Vita (2000; 2010: 163–274).

⁵ LSA 787 may be dated to 412–13 or to 435–41. If Magnelli's interpretation of SEG 56, 1049 is correct, then the latest possible date would be 449.

¹ Sanders (1982); Di Vita (2010: 77–81); Chaniotis (2004: 118–22); see also Harrison (1993: 294–310).

² Beschi (1984); Di Vita (2010: 3–14).

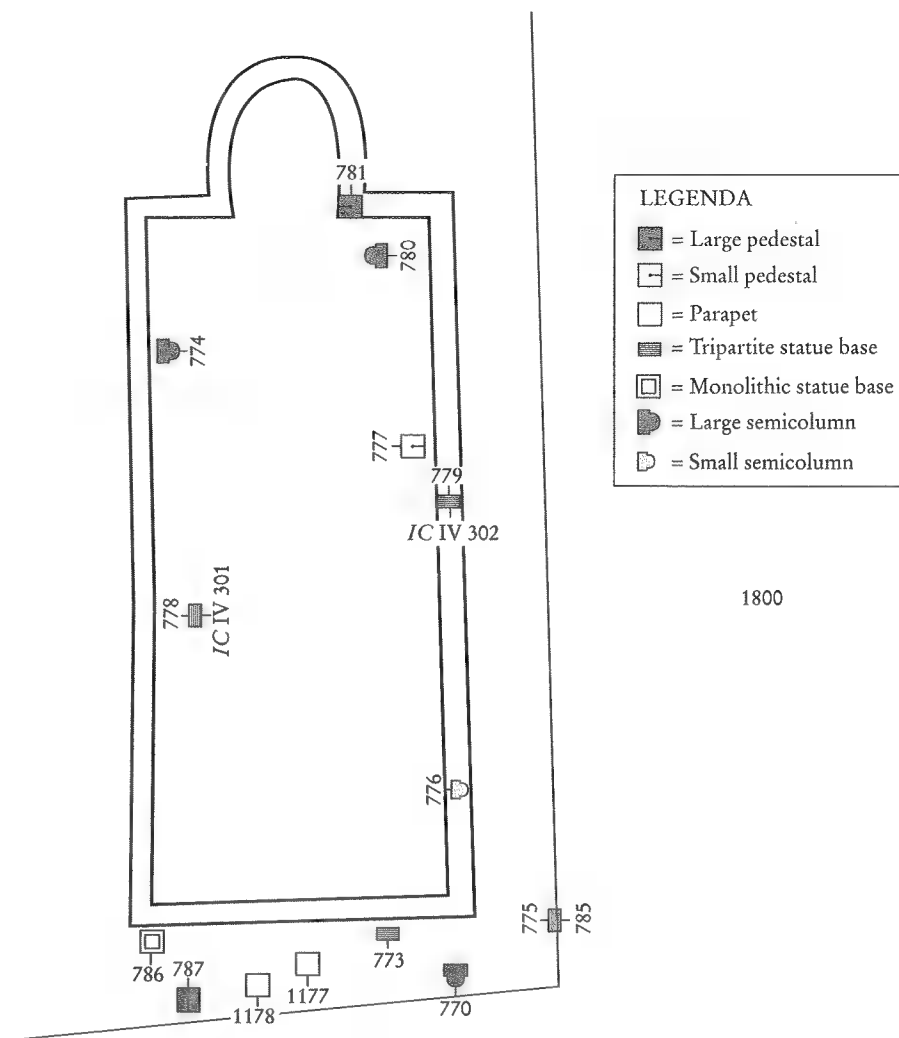


Fig. 17.1 Gortyna (Crete). Plan of Praetorium with present location of late antique statue bases.

Nonetheless, we can confidently assume that they were originally set inside or in the proximity of the Praetorium (though not, as we shall see, built into it, as once believed). This is explicit in some of the texts: LSA 774, 785, and 787 mention statues erected 'by Dike', 'before the doors of Dike', 'by the portals of Dike' (Dike, goddess of Justice, serving as a metaphor for the Praetorium, the place of judgement). Such a concentration of statuary evidence is of great interest, since the Praetorium of Gortyna is one of the few praetoria

securely attested,⁶ and it gives an indication of how such buildings might have been decorated.

Three imperial dedications found in the area relate to the imperial college of 379–83 (LSA 472, 770, and 950), while some small busts (*protômai*) of the same emperors may also have been placed somewhere inside the complex (LSA 771).⁷

⁶ Lavan (1999: 145–7).

⁷ The usual area for erecting imperial statues was probably another, maybe the agora as in earlier times.

A couple of supports, probably for ideal sculpture (LSA 1177 and 1178), were linked to the decoration of the basilica. The remaining evidence consists of honours for imperial office-holders. There are five dedications to praetorian prefects,⁸ one probably to a *vicarius*,⁹ three to governors,¹⁰ and nine or ten to senators of Rome.¹¹ Awarders are normally governors,¹² sometimes associated with the municipal council (*boulê*) or with the provincial assembly (*koinon*).¹³

ASCLEPIODOTUS' CYCLE RECONSIDERED: HISTORICAL ASPECTS

The most conspicuous group is that formed by the prose dedications of Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus to prominent senators of Rome (Fig. 17.2), which were set up together with three dedications to the emperors (LSA 472, 770, and 950) and one to Asclepiodotus himself (LSA 774). This statuary cycle is certainly connected to the restoration of the Praetorium building, ordered by this governor. The chronology of the restoration is provided by the imperial statues, set up once the works were finished, between 379 and 383. It is likely that the other statues were also erected by Asclepiodotus after the completion of the new building. An examination of the careers of the honorands allows us to date the dedications between late 382 and summer 383. Despite some chronological inconsistencies, there are good reasons to believe that these statues formed a homogeneous group, were conceived at one moment, and were perhaps actually set up all at the same time.¹⁴

⁸ LSA 773, 778, 779, 787, and probably 785.

⁹ Lippolis et al. (2009: 117, pl. 7); Vallarino (forthcoming).

¹⁰ LSA 774, 786, and Gasperini (2004: 157–8).

¹¹ LSA 775–783, and an unpublished fragment.

¹² Exceptions are LSA 786, dedicated to a governor by the *boule*, and LSA 774, dedicated to another governor by two eminent citizens in accordance with a decree by the provincial council; the Pyrrhus of LSA 785 is almost certainly a governor and the Callinicus of LSA 787 probably one too.

¹³ On the *koinon*, see Chaniotis (1999); Chaniotis (2004: 105–6).

¹⁴ Other scholars have tried to arrange the evidence into different groups and phases: De Tommaso (2000a) (discussed

Such inconsistencies as do exist may be the consequence of an out-of-date and partial knowledge of the shifts that had occurred in administrative posts, due to the fact that in the winters of both 381–2 and 382–3 communication between the island and the mainland (and communication generally within the central Mediterranean) was particularly difficult.¹⁵

The hypothesis that many of these bases were originally built into a single monument is refuted by careful analysis of the form of the inscribed supports. And attempts to group honorands, or establish a chronology according to the type of support, is both unjustified and confusing, as will be shown later in this chapter. The inscriptions were, in fact, all carved by one hand, with an almost identical formula; layout and use of paratextual devices (such as ivy leaves) are impressively similar. The statues were set up by the governor in accordance with a formal decree, either of the city council of Gortyna or of the entire provincial assembly. There are some slight differences: in the title of the governor (sometimes just '*clarissimus* governor', sometimes '*clarissimus* governor of the province of Crete'); in the way the word 'province' is spelled (*eparcheia/eparchia*); and in the choice of the final verb (sometimes *anestêsa* 'I set up', sometimes *anestêsen* 'he set up'). But these are minor variants, and the latter may indicate a different role of the governor in the procedure of dedication.

Other features of this group are truly surprising. The inscriptions do not make explicit the reasons for the honours, nor do they attribute the title of patron to any of the honorands. Above all, none of the men honoured—except for the two praetorian prefects—seems to have had anything to do with Crete, at least not from an administrative point of view. Of their careers, only the most recent and important posts held in far-away places. It is as if these individuals

below); Baldini and Vallarino (forthcoming); also Cameron (1985: 181).

¹⁵ CLRE 298–301 and 650–53. See also the post-consular date in LSA 771.

Name	Charge mentioned	Rank title of honorand	Date of charge	Other offices held (selected)	Religion	Decreeing authority	Title of awarder	Verb	Support	Additional references
LSA-776 Valerius Severus	praefectus Urbis	τὸν ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	Attended in office by the emperor in April, 20 June, and 1 Aug. 382. His predecessor is in office 8 May 381; his successor 22 Nov. 382.	?	Christian?	Provincial council	ὁ ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	ἀνέστησεν	Semicolumn inscribed on the rear. Uniform with LSA-780	PLRE 1, 837; Chassignol 1962, 209–11
LSA-775 Anicius (Auchenius) Bassus	proconsul Campaniae	τὸν ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	He took office after Jan. 379 and was out of office 22 Nov. 382 (when he is attested as PU).	Praefectus Urbis: received a law 22 Nov. 382 (his predecessor is still in office 1 Aug. 382; he must have left in early 384).	Christian	Provincial council	ὁ ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων ἐπάρχου ἐπάρχου	ἀνέστησεν	Tripartite statue base	PLRE 1, 52–4; Chassignol 1962, 211–6
LSA-778 Flavius Hypatius	ex consul ex praef. praet.	τὸν ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	Consul in 359. His praefecture is attested by not less than 9 laws from 9 Dec. 382 to 28 May 383.	Praefectus urbi (appointed in Aug. 378; out of charge before Jan. 380).	Christian	Provincial council	ὁ ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων ἐπάρχου ἐπάρχου	ἀνέστησεν	Tripartite statue base. Uniform with LSA-779	PLRE 1, 48–9; Chassignol 1962, 204–6
LSA-779 (Sextus) Peronius Probus	ex consul ex praef. praet. III	τὸν ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	Consul in 371. Praef. praet. III 368–373.	Praef. praet. IV (Italy-Africa-Ilyricum) in summer-autumn 383?	Christian	city council	ὁ ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	ἀνέστησεν	Tripartite statue base. Uniform with LSA-778	PLRE 1, 736–40; Novak 1980, 478–80; Cameron 1985, 180–1
LSA-777 (Vettius) Agorius Praxeas	ex praefectus Urbis	τὸν ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	He took office between 5 May 367 and 18 Aug. 383. He held the praefecture a short time after 20 Sep. 368.	Proconsul Achaiae (appointed between 369 and 373; out of office not before 9 Sep. 364) praef. praet. Italy-Africa-Ilyricum (laws dating from May to Sep. 384).	Pagan	city council	ὁ ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	ἀνέστησεν	Small column pedestal	PLRE 1, 722–4; Chassignol 1962, 171–8
LSA-781 Anicius Paulinus	ex proconsul ex praefectus Urbis	τὸν ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	Proconsul Campaniae in 379 (after Nov. 377 and before urban praefecture). Praef. Urbis attested on 24 April 380; his predecessor is in office 15 Feb. 380, his successor 22 Feb. 381.	?	Christian	Provincial council	ὁ ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων ἐπάρχου ἐπάρχου	ἀνέστησεν	Large column pedestal	PLRE 1, 678; Chassignol 1962, 207
LSA-780 (Gabinius) Vettius Probianus	ex praefectus Urbis	τὸν ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	Appointed after 5 Jan. 377 and out of office before 9 March 378. He receives a law 17 Sep. 377.	?	?	City council	ὁ ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	ἀνέστησεν	Semicolumn inscribed on the rear. Uniform with LSA-776	PLRE 1, 734; Chassignol 1962, 201–2
LSA-783 Anicius Claudius (=Q. Clodius) Hermogenianus (Olybrius?)	ex consul?	τὸν ἀρχαιστέρων ἀρχαιστέρων	If identification is correct, then consul 379.	If identification is correct, then consularis Campaniae before 361, procon. Africae 361, praef. Urbis 369–370, praef. praet. 378.	If identification is correct, then Christian	?	?	?	Column pedestal of unknown size. Uniform either with LSA-777 or with LSA-781.	PLRE 1, 640–2; Cameron 1984
LSA-782 Anonymous	ex praefectus Urbis (?)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(?) It may belong to LSA-783	
unpublished Anonymous	?	?	?	?	?	Provincial council	?	?	(?) It may belong to LSA-783	

Fig. 17.2 Gortyna (Crete). Chart of honorands belonging to Asclepiodotus' cycle.

were being honoured merely because they belong to the highest ranks of the Senate.

Why a group of senators of Rome was awarded statues in Crete remains difficult to explain. It is highly implausible that they all contributed to the restoration of the Praetorium.¹⁶ This problem has rarely been considered by scholars, who have paid more attention to the inscriptions individually. Only two scholars have attempted to address the broader issue, Louis Robert and Timothy Barnes, both in rather ingenious ways. According to Robert, Gortyna's statues were a form of celebration of the Roman Senate, a symbolic reply by local pagan elites to the removal of the Altar of Victory from Rome's Curia in 382.¹⁷ Robert's argument was based on an inscription from Olus, also on the island of Crete, bearing a double dedication. On one side, the boule of Olus honoured Asclepiodotus, the same governor who set up the statues in Gortyna (LSA 792). On the other side, a certain Ursus dedicated the statue of a governor (supposedly always Asclepiodotus) to the Victory of the Romans and to the fatherland (*patrê*) (LSA 1161): in Robert's view, the word *patrê* indicated not the fatherland of the awardee, Ursus, but 'la patrie romaine'. This monument would thus prove the beliefs and political sympathies of both Asclepiodotus and Ursus, who were informed of—and engaged with—the controversies that troubled the senatorial aristocracy in Rome. In other words, the Praetorium group of statues represented 'an echo of the pagan reaction to the removal of the altar [of Victory]'.¹⁸

Though fascinating, there is more than one reason to challenge this interpretation. First, the double dedication from Olus is rather suspect: the two inscriptions are carved on opposite sides and in dissimilar lettering, two features that normally indicate re-use.¹⁸ Secondly, if the purpose was a symbolic celebration of the Senate, why choose these particular senators? A statue of the Senate itself or of Victory would have been more

suitable. The choice made could be justified if the senators honoured were the leading members of the senatorial hierarchy; but, although conspicuous, our honorands were not the highest in rank at the time. Indeed, there are two yet stronger arguments for rejecting Robert's theory. The senators honoured at Gortyna (Fig. 17.2) were for the most part Christians, and some of them probably belonged to the faction that had demanded the removal of the altar and opposed Symmachus' embassy pleading for its restoration.¹⁹ And finally, the controversy started with the removal of the altar in late 382, and the subsequent reaction of the Senate, with Symmachus' embassy to Milan, came at the beginning of 383.²⁰ Since our cycle must have been conceived before the end of summer 383, it would have been a remarkably prompt response to the news from Rome.

The solution proposed by Timothy Barnes also centres on religious debate.²¹ Barnes observed that in spring 383 the rhetor Himerius composed no less than three speeches to Nicomachus Flavianus, who was at that time on his way to take up the post of proconsul of Asia.²² This uncommon homage, paid to a Roman aristocrat by an eastern rhetor, was for Barnes paralleled in Gortyna's cycle, both seeking the same goal: patronage against Theodosius' religious politics of intolerance. Both would be evidence of 'a closing of pagan ranks against the dominant Christian orthodoxy', though Barnes does also consider the possibility that the individuals honoured at Gortyna may have had economic interests (properties) in Crete.²³

Here, too, there are several objections. Why would the Cretans have looked for protection from senators, including several who were well known to have been Christian, and how could they anyway have helped the Cretans? Crete belonged to the zone of Gratian's rule, not that

of Theodosius',²⁴ and the change in Gratian's religious policy (towards intolerance) occurred only in late 382, with news of it probably reaching the island only with the reopening of the sea routes in spring 383. Again, our statue cycle would have been a remarkably rapid response to the emperor's change in policy. Last but not least, putting up statues to non-imperial figures with no previous history of helping a town, when seeking help in the future, does not find any ready parallel elsewhere.

Honorific statues were recognition of a *beneficium* already conferred. The reason for Gortyna's cycle probably lies in something more concrete than developing religious anxiety. It is much more likely that, in some way, directly or indirectly, the honorands had already done something for Crete.²⁵ Possibly this act was explained in another, lost inscription. For example, they could have aided a provincial request, perhaps in the form of an embassy: powerful senators were used to commend provincial embassies at court through their means and acquaintances.²⁶ These specific senators may have been chosen because they had interests in the island, which could explain the concentration of Anician family members.

The question is probably destined to remain unanswered. But we can perhaps, cautiously, associate a monumental stele also found in the Praetorium, and dated exactly to June 382, with Asclepiodotus' cycle of statues. It contains an excerpt of a provincial council meeting and refers to amounts of grain and money that were to be used for public advantage, possibly as a consequence of a donation from the emperors, whose busts were dedicated on the same occasion.²⁷ The size and quality of this monument show that the Cretans attached great value to the resources

mentioned in the text. One may wonder if this was something that our senators had pleaded for, and for which they were shortly afterwards rewarded with statues.

ASCLEPIODOTUS' CYCLE RECONSIDERED: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

As generally on late antique statue bases, the sole freshly carved element of these new monuments in Gortyna was the inscription. The poor statuary evidence retrieved in this area consists mainly of recarved portrait heads, and each and every text is invariably engraved on a re-used support. But in contrast to the most common practice, in which a re-used support is generally a proper statue base reinscribed, here, true bases add up only to six examples. All the remaining statue inscriptions are on blocks of a different kind, namely former architectural members. This results in a rather heterogeneous assortment of shapes (Fig. 17.1).

Proper re-used statue bases are represented by both moulded monolithic and tripartite bases. Of the monolithic type, there is only one specimen (LSA 786). It is a tall base, datable originally to the late second century, which was re-used for a statue in honour of the governor Pyrrhus. Tripartite bases, for which the moulded socles and crowns are now lost, have in most cases a plain rectangular shaft with no frame around the epigraphic field.²⁸ Being devoid of any decoration, the original front did not distinguish itself from the other faces. Thus, when the base was needed for a secondary use, it could simply be turned around and reinscribed on a fresh, clean surface. Erasing the original inscription and writing a second one over it was, however, worth the trouble when the front of the base carried some kind of ornament. The tall, slightly tapered base rededicated to Petronius Probus (LSA 773,

²⁴ The diocese of Macedonia was probably returned to Gratian in 380 (after being briefly entrusted to Theodosius), though surely by 381, as proved by the fact that the official acts of the Cretan council are dated through the occidental version of the consular pair of 381 (LSA 771; *CLRE* 297).

²⁵ So already Nistler (1910: 468–9).

²⁶ Krause (1987b: 55–6).

²⁷ LSA 771; Feissel (2009: 100–101, n. 11).

¹⁶ As implicitly argued by De Tommaso (2000a: 388).

¹⁷ Robert (1948: 103–6).

¹⁸ See also Roueché (2002: 544–5).

¹⁹ e.g. Auchenius Bassus (Cameron 2010: 40) and Olybrius (Chastagnol 1962: 184).

²⁰ Cameron (1968: 97).

²¹ Barnes (1987: 224–5).

²² Himerius *Orationes* 12, 36, 43.

²³ So also Kahlos (2010: 27, 47).

²⁸ LSA 775 on the rear of 785, in turn probably carved over a previously erased inscription; LSA 778 on the rear of IC IV 301; LSA 779 on the rear of IC IV 302.



Fig. 17.3 Shaft of tripartite base re-used for Petronius Probus. Gortyna. 372–88, LSA 773. Gortyna, Praetorium. H: 123 cm.

Fig. 17.3), for example, had a large recessed panel framed by a *cyma* moulding.

All the other monuments had the statue standing on a re-used architectural member. Some of these elements were certainly selected because they closely resembled true bases. So, the governor Fortunatianus Servilius had a pair of statues moved within the Praetorium (LSA 1177 and 1178) and placed on two similar, partially moulded rectangular shafts (Fig. 17.4). These elements had originally formed part of a precinct of a kind that was most commonly used for basin enclosures in monumental nymphaea. Though not frequently an object of re-use, marble parapets, with their elegant proportions and moulded ends, could serve well as monolithic bases, and their indented frontal planes in addition give the illusion of a projecting epigraphic field.



Fig. 17.4 Parapet from nymphaeum re-used as statue support, Gortyna. Fourth to early fifth century, LSA 1177. Gortyna, Praetorium.

A strong resemblance to a proper monolithic base is again the reason behind the re-use of architectural column pedestals. From the late third century onwards, such pedestals were extensively employed as statue bases throughout the Roman empire,²⁹ and in Gortyna they were used for no fewer than five monuments. Here, we find two sets of similar pedestals—presumably from the same architectural complex—that differ only in size, with the first being one Roman foot taller than the second (Fig. 17.5). The statues for

²⁹ In general: Coulton (2005). See also the striking resemblance to the Severan pedestals re-used as bases in Lepcis Magna: Bigi and Tantillo (2010: 258–63, figs 8.6–8), and Ch. 16 (Bigi and Tantillo).

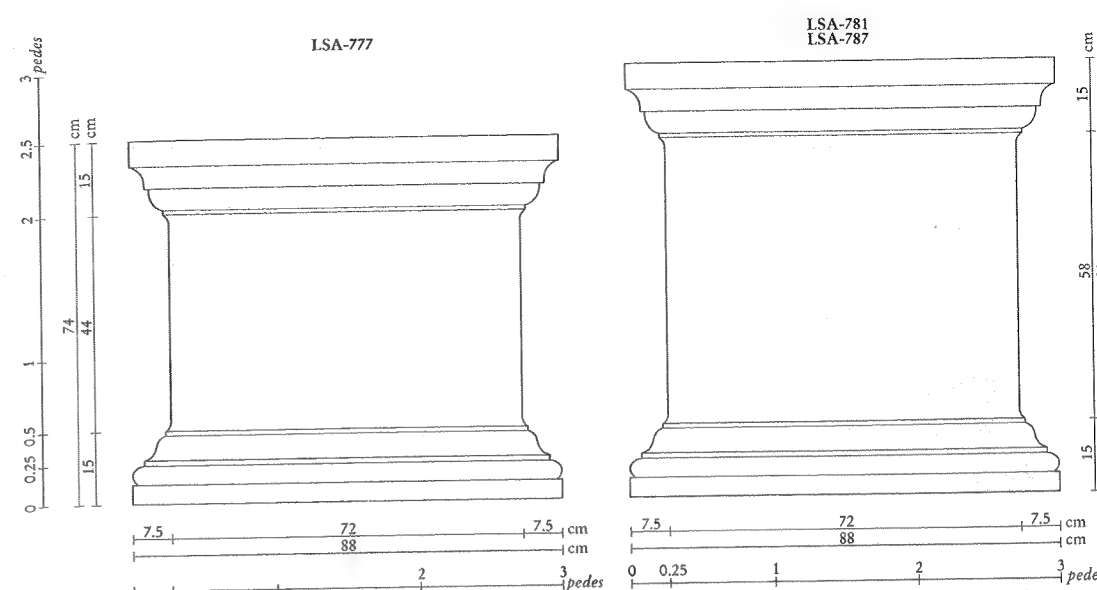


Fig. 17.5 Reconstruction of column pedestals re-used as statue bases in Gortyna Praetorium.

Paulinus and Leontius (LSA 781 and 787) rested on the larger examples, with the statue of Praetextatus on the smaller one (LSA 777). The pedestals employed for Anicius Claudius and an unknown honorand are fragmentary (LSA 782 and 783), so their size cannot be determined.

The last six dedications were engraved on a rather awkward form of re-used support, consisting of a half-column drum engaged to a rectangular pillar. These elements again come in two groups—small and large. The most striking feature is the position of the inscriptions: some are carved on the curved front (LSA 472, 770, 774, and 950, Fig. 17.6a), while others are inscribed on the flat rear (LSA 776 and 780, Fig. 17.6b). Far from being an intentional variation, such differences were simply due to the fact that, at the time of their re-use as an epigraphic support, some drums had their convex front already cut by a large vertical groove, so that the text had to be written on the rear.

The broad assortment of heterogeneous forms of bases used at Gortyna has repeatedly aroused the interest of scholars, who have used it as the starting point for attempts aimed at establishing either a relative chronology or a system of

relationships between the honorands.³⁰ In reality, the choice of the support was casual and had no connection with the type of honorand, his rank, or the moment at which the dedication was made. Only in the use of half-columns can we detect a desire to grant emperors, and possibly the governor responsible for the restoration of the Praetorium, a coherent and imposing type of support.

The uniformity of the half-columns was certainly not the result of their forming part of a monumental structure, as recently argued by the archaeologists who worked on this site.³¹ In their reconstruction, the main entrance to the Praetorium of Asclepiodotus consisted of a monumental gateway supported by four large pilasters into which some of the inscribed supports were walled. On the facade overlooking the street, these pilasters supposedly included the half-column blocks bearing the three imperial dedications and the text in honour of Asclepiodotus himself. On the back elevation, they incorporated two half-columns

³⁰ Relative chronology: Guarducci (1929: 170). Internal relations: De Tommaso (2000a: 386).

³¹ Di Vita (2000); De Tommaso (2000b).

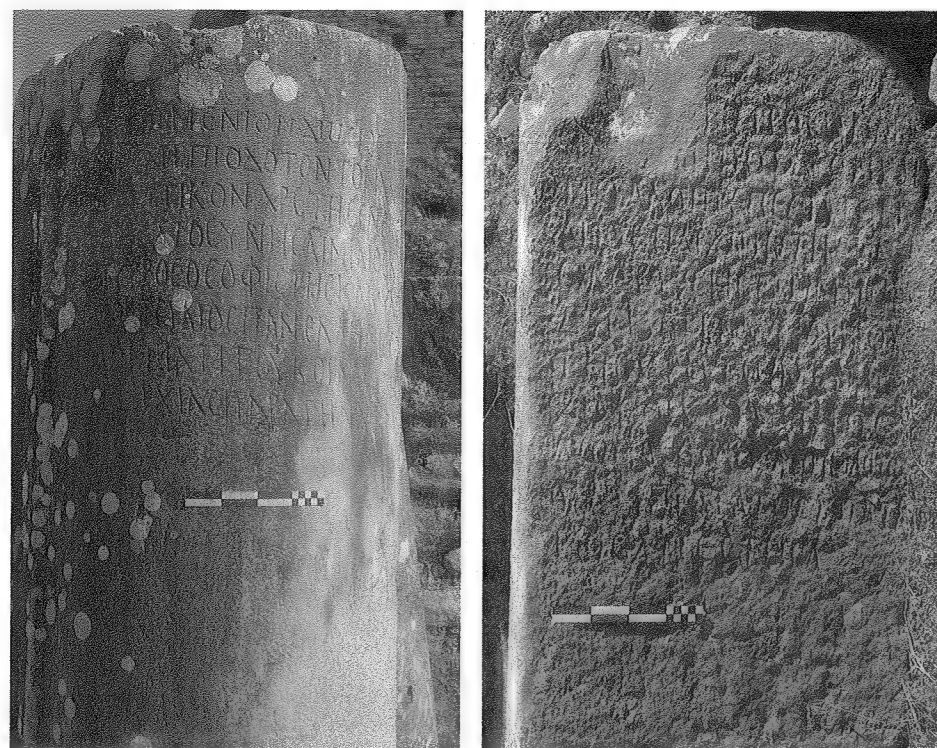


Fig. 17.6 Re-used half-column drums with inscriptions carved on (a) the convex front (LSA 770) and (b) the flat rear (LSA 780). 382–3. Gortyna, Praetorium. H: 140 and 193 cm.

inscribed on the flat rear and two tripartite statue bases, each carrying a text honouring a different Roman senator or high-ranking office-holder.³²

This reconstruction is unacceptable for four reasons. First, there is no room for the statues. We may perhaps conceive of a large-scale monument devoid of statues, a kind of triumphal arch, but such a monument would have been dedicated to the emperors only and not to the emperors, governor, and senators together. Placing the governor on the same visual level as the emperors was inconceivable. Secondly, no other architectural member from such a structure is preserved, and we would therefore be forced to assume that everything except the inscriptions has been lost.³³ Thirdly, the inner facade would include

four inscribed honours for senators but would inexplicably leave out five other inscriptions with the same Asclepiodotus as awarder and with the same kind of honorand.

But what militates most decisively against this hypothesis is the very form of the inscribed blocks. The inscription for Valerius Severus is cut on a half-column that has distinctly smaller proportions than the other ones (LSA 776). Fig. 17.7 alone serves to show how awkward the ensemble would look had architectural members with different measurements been employed. Further inconsistencies lie in the tapering of the half-columns. As a rule, columns set within an architectural context need to have a tapered shaft; thus the lower diameter is larger than the upper one. Yet two of our inscribed drums have the opposite arrangement—that is, the upper measurement is larger than the lower

³² De Tommaso (2000b: 344–5; 2000a: 386–7, fig. 52).

³³ De Tommaso himself (2000b: 347) notes this awkwardness.

PRAETORIUM

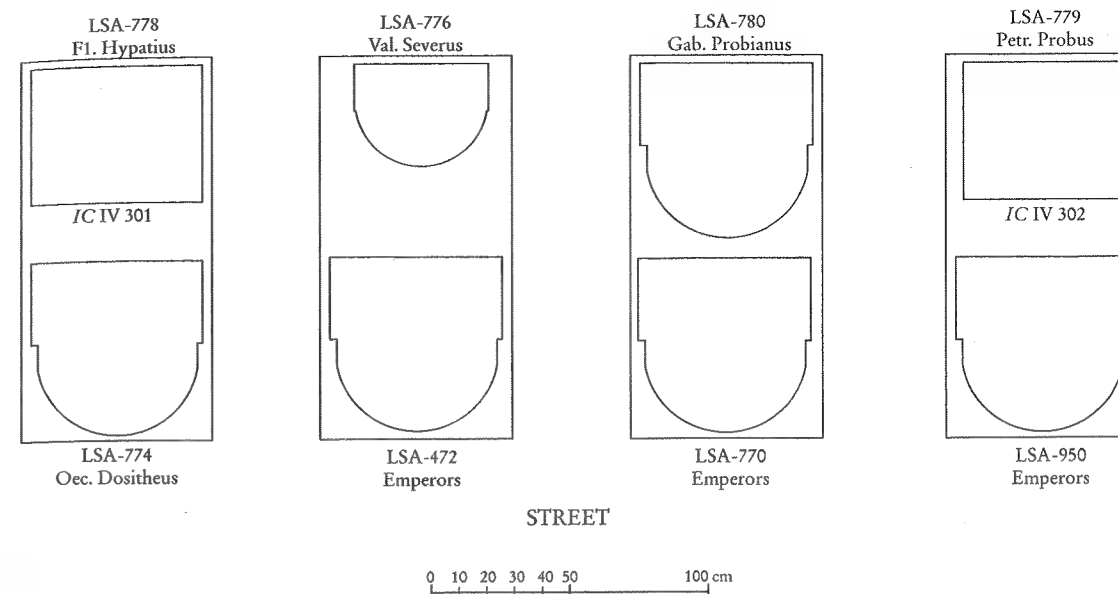


Fig. 17.7 Arrangement of inscribed supports within supposed monumental entrance to Gortyna Praetorium. Reconstruction based on De Tommaso's hypothesis.

one. If we were to orientate the drums according to the proper architectural arrangement, the texts would be upside down; whereas if we follow the orientation of the texts, the columns have an inverted taper. Neither works in architectural terms. The inscribed column drums clearly originally belonged to different sections of column shafts and could not therefore have been placed all at the same level, towards the base of the columns (Fig. 17.8).

It is clear then that the half-columns were originally made for a different architectural use, and that they no longer served this purpose when they received their statue inscriptions. If there was ever a monumental entrance to the Praetorium, it surely did not include any of the honorific inscriptions found so far. The case of Gortyna shows that evaluating the particularities of re-use is not a mere antiquarian exercise: it has important historical consequences. For a deeper understanding of the inscribed honours set up by Asclepiodotus, we should consider them as a set of separate, free-standing monuments.

That the half-columns bore statues can also be inferred by specific traces. One of the drums used for the imperial dedications has shallow rectangular sockets cut by the upper margin of both lateral faces (LSA 770, Fig. 17.9). These traces are not related to the original architectural use,³⁴ and represent instead the sockets for metal clamps that were used as an efficient means of securing the statue to its support.³⁵ But such traces do not help much in trying to determine the material the statues were made of.

Not much can be said also about the kind of statue deployed for the other monuments found in the Praetorium. None of the sculptures³⁶ retrieved in this area can be securely associated with the extant dedications, and the traces visible on the upper surfaces of the supports supply us only with limited

³⁴ Column drums were normally fastened to each other by means of dowels fitted at the centre of the upper and lower planes.

³⁵ An almost identical device is attested at Aphrodisias: Smith (1999: 165).

³⁶ See LSA 856, 857, 858, 860, and 861.

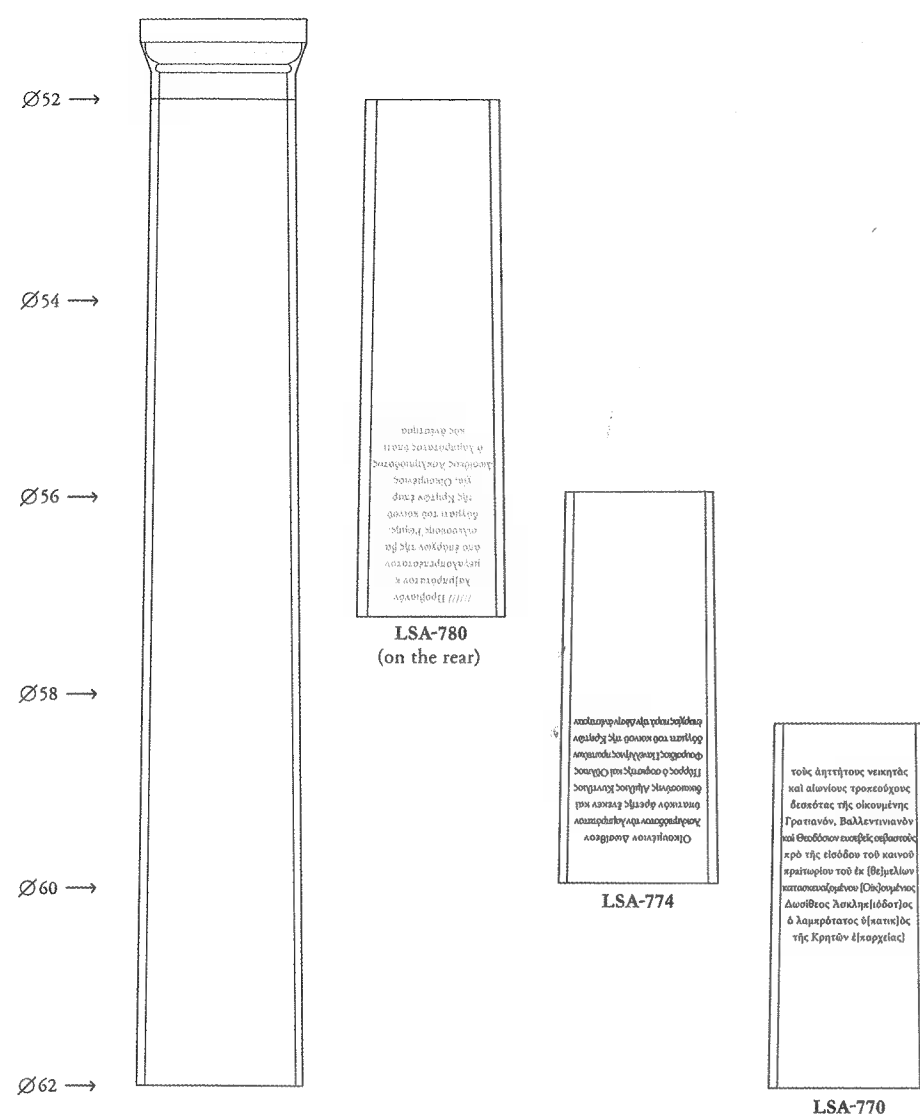


Fig. 17.8 Original position, within whole tapering column, of half-column drums subsequently employed as epigraphic supports in Gortyna Praetorium.

information. Pyrrhus' base (LSA 786) shows a pair of large sockets in which the feet of a bronze statue were to be set; yet, given that the dedication for the governor is engraved over a previously erased text, we cannot tell whether these traces refer to his statue or to a previous one. In this case, we must limit ourselves then to observing that at a certain date this base carried a bronze statue. Similar traces are visible on top of the base for the statue of Petronius

Probus (LSA 773, Fig. 17.10). It was the re-used central shaft of a base of tripartite type, which would originally have rested on a separate moulded socle and been topped by a moulded crowning element. But at the time of its re-use, the upper and lower elements had been lost, so that the sockets for the feet were cut into the upper surface, with Probus' bronze statue placed directly above the shaft without any intermediate

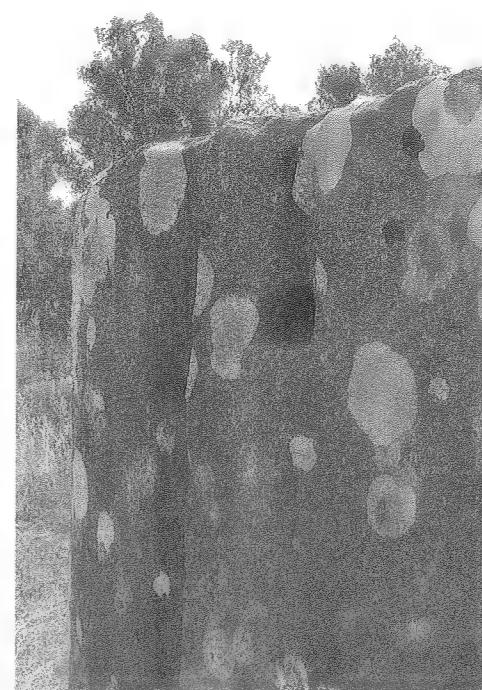


Fig. 17.9 Socket for metal clamp cut on right side of LSA 770, Gortyna. 382–3, Gortyna, Praetorium.

member.³⁷ This is one of the rare instances where physical evidence is in step with the epigraphic evidence. The dedicatory text explicitly mentions imperial permission, which would be consonant with allowing the erection of a bronze statue. By contrast, the base for the governor Anicius Paulinus (LSA 781) poses a question. Alongside a dowel hole and its related lead channel—the typical traces left by the fastening of columns—the upper face of this re-used pedestal has again a pair of sockets for the feet of a bronze statue (Fig. 17.11). Yet here, the inscription says nothing about imperial permission. Now if, as generally believed, a governor could only be awarded a statue in stone, and if the mention of an imperial pronouncement in Probus' inscription implicitly means that all the other

³⁷ The monument of Oecumenius at Aphrodisias (LSA 150 and 151) (Fig. 1.15) also had its statue attached directly to the top of a narrow re-used central shaft without an intervening crown moulding; Smith (2002).



Fig. 17.10 Sockets for feet of bronze statue cut into upper surface of shaft of tripartite base re-used for Petronius Probus, LSA 773 (see Fig. 17.3), Gortyna. 372–88. Gortyna, Praetorium.



Fig. 17.11 Sockets for feet of bronze statue cut in upper surface of column pedestal re-used as base for LSA 781, Gortyna. 382–3, Gortyna, Praetorium.

statues were carved in marble,³⁸ how are we to solve this apparent contradiction? We can only speculate. For instance, the visible cavities could have belonged to a previous use, which left no other trace on the stone,³⁹ or to a marble statue whose feet, unusually, were placed directly onto

³⁸ As stated by Feissel (1984: 548–50 and esp. 589).

³⁹ In which case the statue could have been an ideal figure or could have been accompanied by a painted inscription.

the base. The remaining statue supports from the Praetorium add little in this respect: they are either too fragmentary to be considered or have plain surfaces or marks which are not connected to the fastening of statues.

FINAL REMARKS

Apart from the undeniable particular interest of the Asclepiodotus cycle, Gortyna's case is also instructive on a more general level. The richness in statues of this city depended substantially on the initiative of a single governor, whose activity was condensed within a two-year time span: fourteen out of the twenty-four inscribed statue supports from Gortyna are to be assigned to his activity. Presumably Asclepiodotus had a

personal passion for statues, which two clear purposes allowed him to satisfy: the refurbishment of the Praetorium, and the opportunity to reward a number of important Roman senators for what they had done in favour of Crete. The statue habit in Crete was thus artificially inflated by one exceptional individual and specific set of circumstances. This could, in principle, apply to other contexts, where statue production may also be concentrated in a short period and be linked to particular agents and occasions. Awareness of this reminds us to use due caution when evaluating figures from a single city context. Statistics obtained through counting (such as 'statues per year') can be deceptive, particularly if the sample is small, and may lead to a distorted perception of ancient reality.

Chronology, honorands, style

Third century, from Alexander Severus to Carinus

An overview

Silja K. M. Spranger

This chapter describes the use of honorific statuary between the Severans and Diocletian (AD 222–85), when the LSA project begins. It derives from my thesis on this subject.¹ Earlier statuary practices have been thoroughly studied, up to and including the era of the Severans (the latter most recently by G. Petruccioli),² and the LSA catalogue provides a comprehensive investigation for the later Roman empire. This chapter discusses the decades immediately preceding Diocletian and the first tetrarchy, and attempts to fill the gap between these two periods. It examines the honorands, the dedicators, and the chronological and regional distribution of contemporary statuary in the middle years of the third century.

The chapter focuses on imperial statuary, which provides a secure chronological and categorical basis for different kinds of analysis. Inferences, for example, can be drawn about a highly efficient distribution system for imperial portraits; about the targeted honouring of certain

members within imperial families by individual cities and the consequences of this for the statistical evaluation of the data; about geographical distribution in general and the continuing importance of Rome as a stage for self-representation in particular; and about the decline of statuary honours after the middle of the third century on the basis of concrete figures.³

Alexander Severus (AD 222–35) can be regarded both as the last of the Severans and as the first ruler of a changed mid-third century empire. During his thirteen-year reign, the steady production of images of the preceding years persisted. As a result, his family constitutes, in this study, the analytical control group for the developments of subsequent years. The proclamation of Maximinus Thrax as emperor by soldiers in Mainz, and Alexander's violent death, provided the de facto model for the imperial appointment of subsequent emperors. The discontent in this period, especially within the military, led to the rapid successive appointment of new emperors, marked by constant usurpation. In the short period of sixty-two years, the empire

¹ I would like to thank the AHRC, the Craven Committee, and Lincoln College, Oxford for their kind support of my research.

² Petruccioli (2012).

³ A catalogue of all the statuary remains and bases discussed here are part of my thesis.

witnessed the rise and (almost without exception) the violent fall of more than sixty emperors, Caesars, co-regents, usurpers, and pretenders to imperial power.⁴ Only Gallienus succeeded in retaining power for a significant period—reigning for fifteen years. Stability and some marked changes in statuary practice came with Diocletian and the tetrarchy.

STATUE BASES

Some preliminary points of method may be noted. The term 'base' refers here to any support for a statue, and thus includes pedestals, arches, and undefined honorific monuments, as well as the plaques that were attached to supports constructed from other materials. Double bases (with two statues on one support) are counted as two entries—as are arches and honorific monuments, where applicable. Statue bases, which are often not labelled as such in the epigraphic corpora, were identified according to two principal criteria, grammatical and morphological. The most important is the grammatical case in which the honorand is named: the dative in Latin and the accusative in Greek inscriptions. It has to be noted, however, that this method is more reliable for Greek inscriptions than for those in Latin, which also use the dative for dedications on altars and milestones. Only those Latin inscriptions are included that have also been verified as statue pedestals through published description or illustration. Inscriptions identified as contemporary imperial honours but which cannot be attributed with any certainty to one of the imperial families have here been excluded.

Inscriptions on imperial bases from this period follow a broadly similar structure: the name and title of the emperor, sometimes supplemented by additional titles and honours, are followed by the name of the dedicator and their respective titles and honours. Sometimes those supervising and paying for the setting up of the

statue are also mentioned. A standard dedication formula appears at the end of most Latin honours (*numini maiestatique eius/eorum [devotus/devoti]*) and at the beginning of many Greek bases (*Agathē tychē*). This standardized structure may be illustrated by two examples: a base with Latin text from Sarmizegetusa in Dacia (Fig. 18.1) and a base with Greek text from Aphrodisias in Caria (Fig. 18.2):

Imp(eratori) Caesari / Marco Anton(io) / Gordiano Pio / Felici Aug(usto) pont(ifici) / max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) IIII / co(n)s(uli) II p(atr)ip(atr)iae proco(n)s(uli) / concilium prov(inciarum) / Daciarum III / devoti numini / maiestatique / eius. (CIL III, 1454)

[Τουλίαν Κορνη]-
λίαν Σαλων[εῖ]-
ναν Σεβαστήν
vacat
ἡ λαμπροτάτη Ἀ-
φροδείσι[ε]ων πό-
scroll [λις] scroll

(IAph2007 11.62)

The Latin text states that the *concilium provinciarum Daciarum trium* set up a statue to Gordianus Pius (= Gordian III), and the Greek text that the 'the illustrious city of the Aphrodisians [honoured] Julia Cornelia Salonina Augusta' (= the wife of Gallienus).

A total of 627 bases conform to the criteria described above, and they are divided between forty-two imperial honorands.⁵ Twenty-seven bore the title *imperator*, thirty-seven were for imperial family members. Ten imperial families or dynasties are involved. The term 'family member' here also includes non-related co-regents, since a centrally conducted joint portrait production and distribution for these emperors can be assumed. This notion of joint 'public relations' is reinforced, for example, by a milestone from

⁵ 152 Latin inscriptions are here left out of account because, although they conform in grammar and structure, it has not been possible to confirm whether their supports meet the additional morphological criteria necessary to prove that they were indeed statue bases. Their distribution does not alter the overall picture significantly.

⁴ Kienast (1996: 177–263).

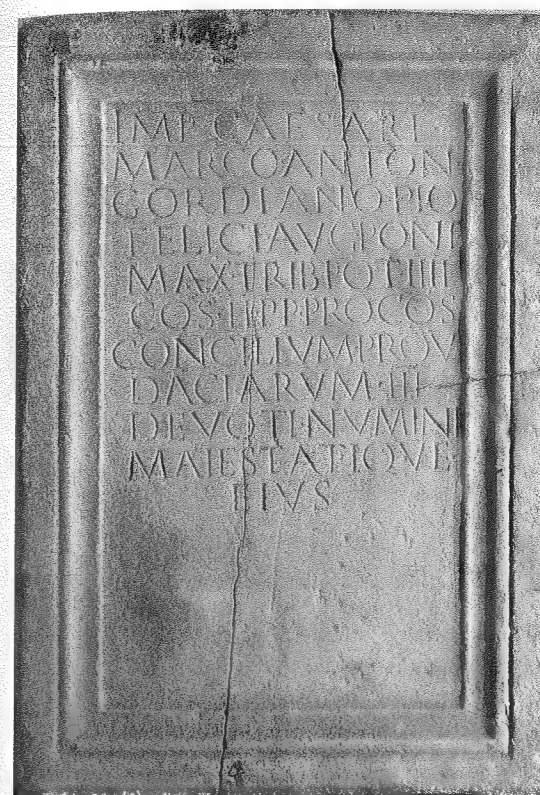


Fig. 18.1 Base for statue of Gordian III (238–44). From Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa. Cluj-Napoca, National History Museum of Transylvania, inv. I 604. H: 114 cm.

Algeria from the reign of Gordian III, which simultaneously commemorates both him and the two proxy emperors, Balbinus and Pupienus (AE 1912, 158). Three imperial families that ruled in aggregate for half the period under examination (33 out of the 63 years) stand out strongly in distinct peaks in the evidence. They are the families of Alexander Severus (AD 222–35, thirteen years), of the Gordians (AD 238–44, six years), and of Gallienus (AD 253–68, fifteen years).

SURVIVING PORTRAITS

The number of surviving portraits is of course lower than that of inscribed bases, but displays statistical tendencies similar to those of the bases.



Fig. 18.2 Base for statue of Cornelia Salonina (253–60). From Aphrodisias. H: 104 cm.

In the identification of individual emperors among the mass of surviving third-century portraits, the strictest methods of typological analysis have been deployed: imperial portraits have verifiable replicas and versions that depend on centrally authorized portrait types which can be identified by the use of the same portrait designs named on coins. Surviving portraits of nineteen imperial figures are currently identifiable by this method: (1) Alexander Severus and (2) his mother, Julia Mamaea; (3) Maximinus Thrax and (4) his son, Maximus Caesar; (5) and (6) the co-emperors Pupienus and Balbinus; (7) Gordianus Pius and (8) his wife, Furia Sabinia Tranquillina; (9) Philippus Arabs, (10) his wife, Otacilia Severa, and (11) their son, Philippus Minor; (12) Decius and (13) his wife, Herennia Etruscilla; (14) Valerian and (15) Gallienus; (16) Claudius Gothicus; (17) Aurelian; (18) Probus; and (19)

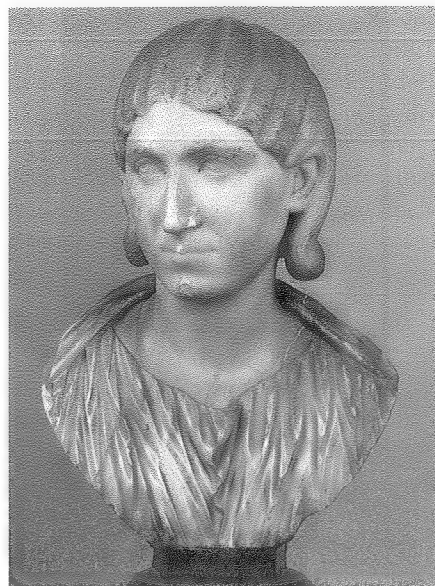


Fig. 18.3 Bust of Julia Mamaea (222–35). From Rome. Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. MC 457/S. H: 44.5 cm.

Carinus. The portraits thus represent fourteen emperors (including Philippus Minor, who received the title of *Imperator* in AD 247),⁶ one Caesar, three wives, and one mother. Fifteen of these figures can be grouped into six imperial families. This corpus includes five now lost portraits of Maximinus Thrax from the Villa Ludovisi,⁷ but excludes heads which pre-date the reign of the relevant figure,⁸ those identified solely by process of elimination,⁹ those too small to have belonged to an honorific statue,¹⁰ and body fragments.¹¹

According to these (strict) criteria we have 154 surviving identifiable portraits. The relatively low



Fig. 18.4 Bronze head of Gordian III (238–44). Bonn, LVR Landesmuseum, inv. 9132. LVR Landesmuseum, Bonn.

resulting ratio of 1:4 portraits to bases (154:627) is interesting (the average for earlier and later periods is more like 1:2). The sculptural remains include three well-preserved marble statues but consist mainly of busts and separate heads, six of which are made of bronze. Numerically, the same three families again form distinct statistical peaks: the families of Alexander Severus, of the Gordians, and of Gallienus, closely followed this time by that of Maximinus Thrax, the immediate successor of Alexander Severus. Alexander Severus' mother, Julia Mamaea (Fig. 18.3), is depicted in the largest number of surviving portraits, with 32 examples, followed by her son with 29; then Gordian III with 27 (Fig. 18.4), and Gallienus with 16 portraits.

DISCUSSION

The entire corpus of confirmed bases and surviving identified imperial portraits amounts to 781 pieces, of which the honours for Alexander

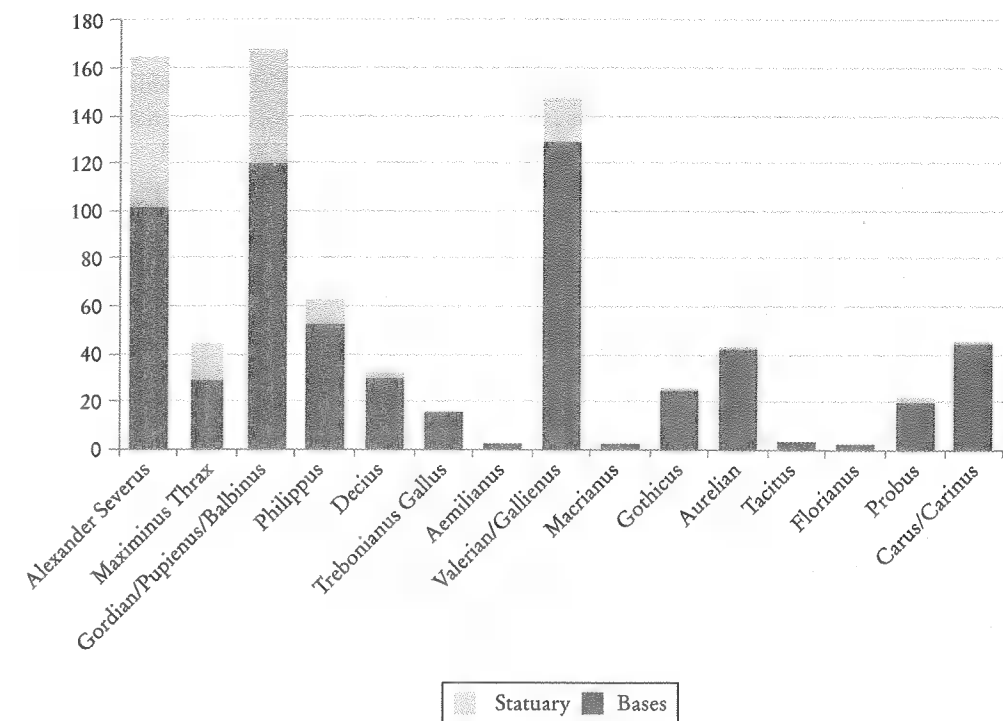


Fig. 18.5 Statuary and epigraphic evidence for honours to emperors and imperial family members, AD 222–85, by reign.

(AD 222–35), Gordian III (AD 238–44), and Gallienus (AD 253–68) constitute the lion's share, with 484 items (Fig. 18.5). The ratio, however, of regnal years to preserved monuments is not proportional—rather the opposite. The family of Alexander has 164 monuments over thirteen years (average 12.5 per year). Similarly, the family of Gallienus has 149 monuments over fifteen years (= average ten per year). The family of the Gordians, however, presents a total of 171 monuments over a reign of only six years (= average 28.5 per year). No other emperors of our period come close to these levels of preserved honours. Fourteen of the monuments for the Gordians are honours for Gordian's father, uncle, and the two proxy emperors: three for Gordian I, one for Gordian II, three for Balbinus, and seven for Pupienus. Yet all of them held power only during one year—in 238 AD: Balbinus and Pupienus ruled

for ninety-nine days, Gordian I and II for only about twenty.¹²

The evidence for Gordian I and II in AD 238 is particularly interesting. Their joint reign was brief, ending after only about twenty days, when Gordian I committed suicide following his son's death in battle.¹³ Their proclamation, which was legitimized by the senate, took place in Africa, where they also died soon afterwards. Still, we have evidence for the erection of three statues for Gordian I and II, during this twenty-day reign, from Asia Minor (Perge) and Gaul (Bordeaux); and another from Numidia was set up posthumously. Şahin assumes that the setting up of the two inscribed bases at Perge took place in AD 242, along with a base honouring their grandson and nephew Gordian III—all three

⁶ Kienast (1996: 200).

⁷ Fittschen (1977: 319–26).

⁸ e.g. Gordian I, Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 48, inv. 475; Fittschen–Zanker (1985: 123–4, no. 104).

⁹ e.g. Gordian I/Decius, Tunis, Musée Alaoui au Bardo, inv. 3212; Felletti Maj (1958: 129); Wiggers–Wegner (1971: 239–40); Bergmann (1977: 33); Fittschen–Zanker (1985: 133, n. 15b).

¹⁰ e.g. Gallienus, New York, art market: Sotheby's (NY) 'Antiquities and Islamic Art', 1–2 Mar. 1984, no. 75; Julia Mamaea, Rome, Museo Vaticano, depot, inv. 4294; Fittschen–Zanker (1985: 137).

¹¹ Fragments, see, e.g. Gamer (1969); Stoll (1992).

¹² Kienast (1996: 191–4).

¹³ Kienast (1996: 188–90).

were awarded by the *gerousia*.¹⁴ Yet no reference is given in any of these monuments to their being posthumous. Nor, significantly, do they contain any reference to the emperors' relation to Gordian III, as would be expected in a posthumous honour for relatives of the now reigning emperor, and indeed as preserved on a base from Numidia (*ILAlg* I, 1267–*AVO AUG N*). Instead, the two inscriptions refer only to the relation between the father, Gordian I, and the son, Gordian II: *PATERA [...] SEBASTON* and *YION [...] SEBASTON* (*IK Perge* 280; 281), therefore they must pre-date Gordian III's reign (AD 238–44). Even if we suppose that the information and distribution sequence did not involve the city of Rome as a gateway, which it probably did, these honours demonstrate that the transfer of news across the Mediterranean, the production of portrait models, their dispatch, and the production of the statues and inscriptions in cities as remote as Bordeaux (c.1,400 km distance from Thysdrus, Africa) and Perge (c.1,800 km) must have been achieved with startling speed and commitment.¹⁵ The task of setting up these statues might not have been finished in the two Gordians' short period of rule—a lag is likely—but the information was obviously immediately forwarded and the statues were commissioned and prepared without further delay, so that when the news of the accession of the new emperor arrived—of course with a similar lag—the orders were already executed.

The peaks and clusters which form around some imperial families in the statistical analysis of the evidence suggest an efficient system for the distribution of portrait models, capable of swift communication and of efficient dispatch of authorized portrait designs. Stuart long ago

¹⁴ A fourth base, *IK Perge* 283, cannot be attributed to any of the three Gordians and is assumed by to be identical with *IK Perge* 281. If the measurements given, however, are correct, this seems unlikely.

¹⁵ Fittschen suggests that for Gordian I a model preceding his reign, as possibly preserved in portrait in the Museo Capitolino in Rome, might have been used: Fittschen–Zanker (1985: 124).

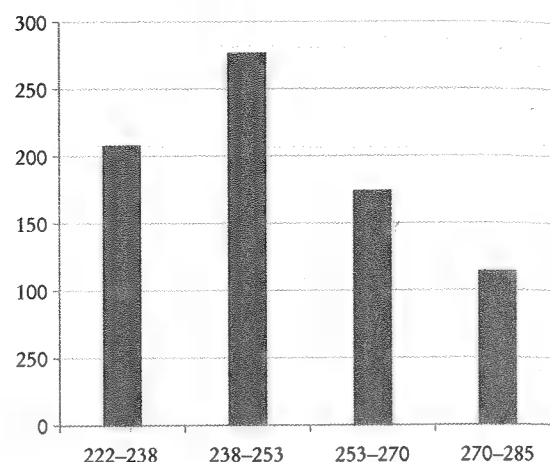


Fig. 18.6 Honours to emperors and imperial family members (statuary and inscriptions), AD 222–85, analysed in periods of approximately fifteen years.

suggested the existence of an organized distribution system for the third century.¹⁶ The results presented here raise the question whether agents in the process were able to draw on a more efficient system for the creation and distribution of portrait models at some times than at others. The imperial families, which stand out so strongly in the evidence, had the support of the senate and so had good connections to Rome. This may help explain their statuary presence empire-wide. The precise mechanisms involved in the production and dissemination of portrait models remain unknown, but it is perhaps likely that the moving peaks and trends in production in the third century were at least partly due to varying availability of and access to established processes and networks.

To illustrate underlying trends over the sixty-three years, it is useful to divide the period into units of approximately fifteen years (Fig. 18.6).¹⁷ This breakdown conveniently does not split any of the reigns into two. An expected decline in numbers of imperial honours during the third

¹⁶ Stuart (1939: 617).

¹⁷ i.e. 16 (AD 222–38), 15 (AD 238–53), 17 (AD 253–70), and 15 (AD 270–85) years respectively.

century is illustrated by the chart in Fig. 18.6. The decline can be seen clearly, although only after a remarkable peak immediately after the middle of the century, which is mainly formed by the honours for Gallienus and his family (AD 253–68). This development would, however, not be as obvious if we had taken only reigning emperors into account—as we will see shortly, in relation to individual cities.

The empire-wide regional distribution of the 781 mid-third-century inscribed bases and surviving statuary is shown in Fig. 18.7. Although thirty-one of the portraits from Italy belong to the 'Severan control group', only nine of their bases have been found in Italy, and six are from Rome. These numbers show that, during and in spite of turbulent political conditions, neither Italy nor Rome experienced a decrease in their importance as a stage for communication and displays of loyalty.

Regarding individual cities in which the bases were found, a number of recurring situations emerge in the evidence. First, numerous cities have only one attested honour for an imperial individual for the entire period, AD 222–85. Second, some cities have honours for one member in several imperial families, generally the reigning emperor. The maximum number of different imperial families attested in a single city is seven. Third and more frequently, there is an accumulation of statuary honours for only one or two ruling families in a given city. In some cities, several monuments for one or two family members are preserved—for example, multiple statues for Alexander Severus alone, or for Alexander and his mother Julia Mamaea. In others, several family members—for example, Gallienus with his father, wife, and sons—were honoured together, presumably in statue groups.

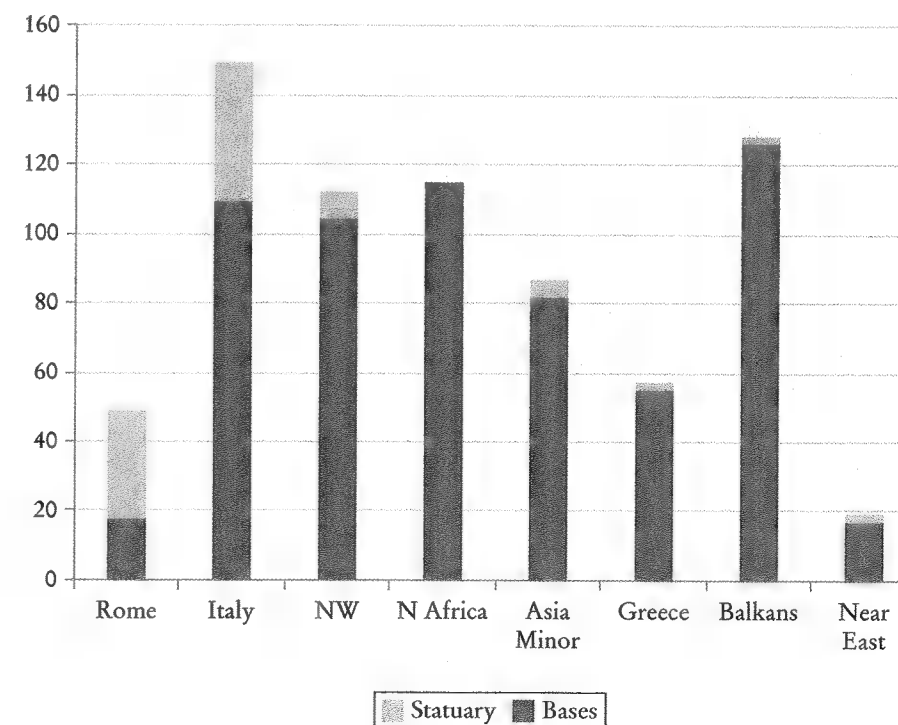


Fig. 18.7 Statuary and epigraphic evidence for honours to emperors and imperial family members, AD 222–85, by region.

Explanations for such phenomena—such as the location, status, and function of individual cities, or their specific connection to one or other emperor or imperial family, attempted in my doctoral study—cannot be discussed here. It becomes obvious, however, that honours for close family members need to be included in any per annum calculation designed to evaluate imperial statuary practice. For Alexander Severus, multiple honours are much more common than for Gallienus, whose statues are instead more frequently accompanied by statues for family members, which, of course, equally pay tribute to the emperor himself. A 'smaller' imperial family necessarily resulted in the concentration of honours on fewer individuals, while a larger family allowed not only larger groups but also the purposeful allocation of honours within these groups. Thus, in the case mentioned above, the seventy-one bases for Alexander Severus out of an overall number of 103 for his family contrasts with the fifty-four for Gallienus out of an overall number of 131 for his family. To count honours only for emperors necessarily distorts the situation; for example, the distinct peak of imperial honours immediately after the middle of the third century would not have been observed.

CONCLUSION

In summary, for the years AD 222–85 we have evidence for the erection of 781 portraits for

emperors and imperial family-members. The decrease of honours in the third century is measurable, but not even or gradual. Moreover, the evidence seems to suggest that most imperial honours were set up at the beginning of each reign, rather than consecutively through the reign. This is best illustrated by comparing the record for the family of Carus, who received forty-five statuary honours in the three years of his family's reign, a rate of fifteen per annum, with the families of Alexander Severus 12.7 per annum (over thirteen years), Gallienus 9.9 per annum (over fifteen years), and the Gordians 28.5 per annum (over six years).

The distinct numerical predominance of some imperial families in the surviving statuary, and questions surrounding the efficiency of production and dispatch, draw attention to the authorities likely to have been in charge of this task and the particular priority that was given to disseminating the imperial image. The spread of honours within imperial families throughout the empire, as well as their agglomeration in certain cities, promises further valuable insights. The surviving statuary shows how imperial families wished to be perceived, while the inscribed bases give concrete information about how provinces, cities, and local elites wanted to present themselves. These findings may prepare the way for a sharpened understanding of imperial portrait practice in this period, and for inferences that go beyond merely statistical evaluation of third-century statue production.

CHAPTER 19

Provincial governors and senatorial office-holders

Marietta Horster

There are over 300 surviving honorific inscriptions for late antique provincial governors and for (a few) civil senatorial office-holders.¹ Most of these inscriptions were set up in honour of a governor in the cities of his province after he had finished his term of office and, until the first half of the fifth century at least, they were paid for by the cities. Most were written on statue bases supporting over-life-size marble or, less often, bronze statues. Christianization and social hierarchization transformed late antique society and the forms of public communication: the few surviving inscribed statuary honours awarded to governors by provincial assemblies (*concilia*) represented an exclusive distinction, unlike honorific acclamations, which were probably awarded frequently. In contrast, the small number of inscribed statuary honours offered by individuals and groups highlights hierarchies. The content and form of the honours for provincial

governors, especially those awarded by cities, reflected the self-presentation of the cities' elites as well as the self-image of late antique senators. Acclamations, building inscriptions, inscriptions in mosaics, and painted portraits, as an alternative to an honorific statue, however, became a stronger presence from the fifth century.

Honorific inscriptions were in general attached to a monument, most often a statue base, which itself was part of the honour. By identifying the honoree, the inscription played a decisive role. Without further information the statues themselves were too similar to be distinguished from those of other governors, Roman office-holders, benefactors, or retired senators. It was the inscription that recorded who was honoured, his socio-political rank, the office he had held, sometimes also the respected family to which he was heir, and often the good deeds and virtues for which he was honoured.

In the imperial period, in both east and west, honours expressed as statues could potentially be awarded in a civic, public context to anyone who deserved them in the eyes of individual office-holders or the city or institutions of the city, or they could be awarded by private persons and groups. It was the exception, not the rule, however, that the city council allowed an individual or private group to set up an honorific statue in a

¹ Most arguments presented in this chapter have been published in Horster (1998). R. R. R. Smith's and B. Ward-Perkins' 'Last Statues' database provided a wonderful occasion to readdress the subject and to look at the inscriptions discussed here from a different point of view. U. Gehr and J. Lenaghan have presented it in the database in an efficient and reliable manner. I would like to thank Bert Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins for inviting me to the 'Last Statues' workshops in Oxford in 2009 and 2011, and for giving me the opportunity to present the results of my research in this book.

public place, especially in the forum. A public place in this sense included not only open public spaces but also public buildings such as basilicas, baths, markets, and sanctuaries. The appropriate setting for honours not initiated by a public institution seems to have been the private sphere: the home or property of the honorand or the property of the person or group awarding the honour. In the first three centuries AD, honorific statues erected to a provincial governor by his staff, the *officiales*, seem to have been concentrated at the governor's headquarters and in places where he carried out official business (basilica, theatre) but only rarely in the forum.² In the high empire, provincial governors seem to have been honoured both in publicly accessible places and in those of restricted access: their private houses in Rome and their home cities, but also in their official seats, the *praetoria*. This evidently changed in the late antique period.

Insofar as epigraphic publications provide clear indications of find-spots, it appears that there were only three kinds of setting in which honorific statues were set up for provincial governors in late antiquity: a few public spaces in Rome and Constantinople, public spaces in cities of the province, and the private homes of the honorands in Rome and their home towns. In addition, new forms of honours appeared that were non-existent or unimportant during the high empire—such as honorific inscription inscribed on various kinds of building, acclamations immortalized in stone or mosaic, and an unquantifiable number of painted portraits.

INSCRIBED HONOURS IN WEST AND EAST

An immediately striking aspect of the late antique inscribed honours is the disparate character of their texts. Many of them, especially in the Latin west, seem heavily indebted to honorific inscriptions for public office-holders of the high empire, which almost always cited only the

offices held and hardly ever indicated the reasons for awarding the honour, implying that the mere fact of holding high office was grounds enough. Other late antique texts repeat the honorific decree passed by the city council, continuing a long tradition from the Hellenistic period and high empire in Greece and Asia Minor. In late antiquity, however, this type of honour is seldom found in the Greek-speaking east, but does appear in the Latin west.³ In contrast to the continuity in the inscribed tradition in the Latin west, in the Greek east by the early fourth century verse inscriptions became the dominant form in honours for governors (as for praetorian prefects and the few civic benefactors honoured). In the Latin west inscribed verses are to be found, if at all, more often in a funerary context and, above all, in churches.⁴

Reasons for praise

The simultaneous presence of such different types of text in honorific inscriptions for the same functionally defined group of persons in different regions is a striking phenomenon. There does not seem to be a regional divergence in the perceptions of the duties and qualities of a governor or other high-ranking imperial civil office-holders.⁵ The following accomplishments, skills, virtues, and deeds are praised most frequently in governors, though many of the reasons and formulae are also attested in other contexts, especially in honours for civic benefactors, civic office-holders, and senior ecclesiastical dignitaries.⁶

The spheres invoked include legal judgements (citing qualities such as *iustitia*), the proper conduct of the office held, predictability, the justness

³ See Chs 3 (Machado), 5 (Witschel), 10 (Machado with Lenaghan), and 16 (Bigi and Tantillo).

⁴ On inscribed psalms and epigrammatic praise of saints, see Pietri (1988). For funerary epigrams and Christian verse inscriptions, see Cameron (2004) and Gemeinhardt (2007: 165–83).

⁵ See, e.g. Neri (1981), Christol (1983), Näf (1995), Niquet (2000), Slootjes (2006).

⁶ Roueché (1997).

² Haensch (1997).

of actions, and the integrity of the governor's behaviour (*integritas*, *innocentia*, *moderatio*, *auctoritas*, and more expansive Greek paraphrases), as well as good education, rhetorical skills, and linguistic ability in more than one language (*eloquentia*, 'master of the words', and other imaginative terms). Other more 'prosaic' grounds for honour include support for the city through particular construction works, assistance after destruction by natural disasters or enemy attacks, and other good deeds. The specific construction may be named, or general qualities such as *beneficia* and *liberalitas* may be cited, or the honorand may be called 'founder' or 'saviour'.

Location of honours

The place chosen for an honour seems to have influenced the type of text. From the late third century, in Rome and in senators' home towns, especially in Italy, detailed information is almost always given about the series of offices held by the honorand, but most other inscribed honorific texts focus on other aspects.

These inscribed texts seem to express a new type of engagement with classical education and culture, but at the same time they reflect the (perhaps novel) taste of a particular social group or region.⁷ It may be possible to identify a set of aspects that influenced the choice of wording and content—such as the tradition of mentioning the honorand's family. As the texts were in most cases set up at the end of a governor's term, his successors may have been the target readers of an inscription on monumental honours erected in the city where the governor had his seat. The choice of wording and linguistic form might be influenced by the local elite's sense of the 'intellectual' reputation of their city (as at Athens or Antioch), or a city's elite might aim to win such a reputation and so choose a distinguished rhetor or philosopher to compose such texts. Very occasionally the author of the text is named, such as the rhetor Torquatus, who was commissioned to

compose the text for a governor.⁸ In many cases, those who commissioned the honour (city, province, private individual, or corporation) were probably the authors of the text, but the honorand may have chosen the form and content himself, and perhaps even the wording.⁹ The status consciousness of the late antique senators in east and west is well attested in contemporary authors, but the inscribed honours reflect only a limited selection of the various forms of status-related expressions of senatorial (self-)esteem that are attested in literary sources: catalogues of virtues and the accomplishments required to achieve them; pride in education and the promotion of education; appearance and lifestyle; derivation of one's dignity from proximity to the emperor; senatorial privileges; the entitlement to material goods and properties; demand for public office; pride in one's origins; and the exercise of senatorial offices by one's ancestors.¹⁰

The remainder of this chapter will focus more on the context than the content of the inscriptions, that is, on the institutions and persons who granted the honour, and on formal aspects of the texts, rather than on the reasons stated for awarding the honours. The identification of the exact position, rank, and office of the honorand is sometimes approximate, if not impossible.¹¹

EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INSCRIBED HONOURS

The verse inscriptions transmitted by the *Anthologia Palatina* usually give no indication about

⁸ Torquatus: AE 1915, 53 Trebenna, in honour of the governor of Lycia Pamphylia, Terentius Marcianus, late 3rd or early 4th c. In Athens: sophists, LSA 137. Education and culture were an essential point of contact in communication between the city's *honoratores* and Roman office-holders: e.g. a senator can be styled as *philosophus* in LSA 1416 (Rome), as orator in LSA 1653 (Ostia) and LSA 270 (Rome).

⁹ In the honorand's home city, he might have a stronger influence over the choice of statue—see, e.g. the concentration of bronze statues for several families in Rome: LSA 1441, 1442, 1444, and 1470.

¹⁰ Näf (1995).

¹¹ PLRE, addenda in Mathisen (2003).

⁷ On education and culture, see Cameron (2004), Gemeinhardt (2007).

their material support or the monumental context. C. Mango was able to show convincingly that some of the honorific epigrams collected in the *Anthologia Palatina* may refer to painted portraits or were perhaps inscribed on columns.¹²

A smaller number than those on statue bases is formed by the honorific inscriptions on buildings. Examples are an epigram from Stratonicea in honour of the provincial governor(?) Euthius that appeared on an architrave, probably in the building whose restoration he oversaw (LSA 656). And above the northeast gate of Aphrodisias was a two-line inscription in prose honouring the governor of Caria, Fl. Constantius (probably late 360s), for undertaking this and other building work (LSA 234).¹³ Two blocks of marble built into the theatre of Ephesus each bore an honorific epigram for the *proconsul Asiae* responsible for rebuilding the theatre in the fourth to fifth century.¹⁴ Also from the theatre at Ephesus, a marble plaque celebrates, in the form of an acclamation, the contribution of the *proconsul* Ambrosius to the work on the theatre.¹⁵ This kind of pseudo-acclamation was probably intended to signal exceptional popularity. Much the same may be true of an inscription about the construction of a city wall which, though dedicated to the emperor Arcadius, describes the governor Anatolius, named in the nominative case, as famous and most wise (LSA 612). This is a form of self-presentation that uses the vocabulary of honorific inscriptions. It is not known for certain whether the text was inscribed on the building itself or on a base that would have carried a statue of the emperor honoured. An epigram that praises the construction work carried out on the theatre of Side by Fronto (sixth century?), after his period of office as governor, was inscribed on an arch of the outer facade. The use of verse and the choice of vocabulary turn this text, too, into a form of

exaggerated self-presentation that comes close to an honorific inscription—even though a second building inscription, found next to the first one, shows that the construction work was funded by the city.¹⁶ The acclamations already mentioned are another form of honour also found in mosaics and on columns.¹⁷ The mosaic inscriptions show that this kind of honour was not a spontaneous expression but involved a high level of formalization. This type of 'acclamation' could take the place of a building inscription as seen above, in the theatre in Ephesus, and as is also suggested by the mosaic inscription (fifth/sixth century) from baths in Ephesus: 'Praise Asclepius, the most illustrious proconsul.'¹⁸

Nonetheless, most honorific inscriptions have been found on statue bases and are therefore included in the LSA database. The size of the bases bearing the inscriptions varies greatly, but those of on average around 0.90–1.50 m in height seem to have been especially frequent. This is most likely due to an aesthetic perception of harmony between the size of the base and a life-size or over-life-size statue. This aesthetic would then not be specific to late antiquity, because a large proportion of the bases were re-used.¹⁹ An examination of the statue bases of governors (and other high dignitaries) in the cities of Athens,²⁰ Ephesus,²¹ and Leptis Magna²² shows that the proportion of re-used bases varies greatly. This may reflect, among other things, differences in the costs of materials and transport. Evidently

¹⁶ AE 1966, 468 = *ISide* 150 = SGO IV, 147–8, no. 18/15/04: epigrams, and AE 1966, 467 prose. Compare Robert (1965: no. 419), whose interpretation is accepted in *PLRE* III Fronto 2.

¹⁷ Roueché (1984).

¹⁸ *IEphesos* 1313.

¹⁹ Re-use in Rome: Niquet (2000). For Italy and west, see Chs 3 (Machado), 4 (de Bruyn and Machado), 5 (Witschel). For Athens and Greece, see Chs 7 and 15 (Gehn).

²⁰ Athens: re-used for proconsuls, LSA 2, 93, 103, and 425; re-used for praetorian prefects, LSA 138 and perhaps 137.

²¹ LSA 730 re-used for LSA 733.

²² LSA 2186, re-used after c.20 years for LSA 2173; LSA 2168, re-used for LSA 2159 (emperor); LSA 2169 and 2178–9 are inscribed *in rasura* for governors; LSA 2172 and 2174 are inscribed *in rasura* for an *agens vice praefecti praetorio*; LSA 2211 and 2176 were re-used for a *comes* and a *dux*.

¹² Mango (1986).

¹³ Honours on city gates and walls generally seem to be reserved for emperors: Feissel (1988), Lebek (1995).

¹⁴ *IEphesos* 2043 and 2044.

¹⁵ *IEphesos* 2045, late 4th c. (?).

every kind of stone suitable for a base was used, including gravestones as well as honours to fellow citizens, honours to the emperor,²³ or altars with dedications to gods.²⁴ It is especially striking that some bases were re-used for more than one governor—sometimes at short intervals.²⁵ Not only were governors honoured with and on re-used inscribed stones, they themselves re-used existing statue bases in their honours to emperors (LSA 1922 and 1923). Re-use was thus clearly not a mark of a lower degree of respect.

The material of the bases, as in the high empire, came primarily from local sources. Marble seems to dominate, insofar as publications report the material. Only a few inscribed texts name the material from which the statue of the honorand was to be made. These few explicit statements refer only to marble or metal.²⁶ It has been plausibly shown that from the mid-fourth century there was a limit on the award of statues in precious metal erected in public places.²⁷ This makes

²³ Some examples. (1) Mazara, Sicily, *CIL* X 7202 (for Hadrian), re-used *CIL* X 7208, probably awarded to an unknown *consularis Siciliae* for his justice and other qualities; (2) Maxula, Africa, LSA 2488 for Sabina Augusta, re-used for a *proconsul Africae* (AD 296–301?); (3) Leptis, LSA 2168 honours a *proconsul Africae*, later re-used as LSA 2159 for Theodosius I; (4) Cirta, LSA 2232 honours Constantine, re-used as LSA 2327 for a *consularis Numidia* (AD 343).

²⁴ e.g. LSA 1941, inscribed on a re-used gravestone; *IRT* 103, an altar from Sabratha re-used for a governor in LSA 2333.

²⁵ See Ch. 3 (Machado) and Fig. 3.5, LSA 1618 and 1619. Also Ch. 16 (Bigi and Tantillo) and Fig. 16.12, LSA 2172 and 2198.

²⁶ Statue materials mentioned in Rome: Niquet (2000: 63–9). In Italy and west: LSA 2446–7 and 2480. In the east: LSA 56, 727, and 732. Bronze statues set up in the home of the honorand by cities: LSA 1467–8 and 1470 (Rome). Bronze statues set up in the home of the honorand (such as city prefect or other high-ranking office-holders) by individuals or by collegia: LSA 1392, 1401, and 1441–4. In the provinces, bronze statues were set up with the emperor's special authorization or request: LSA 863, 1190, and 2327. In rare cases the imperial authorization is made explicit on statue bases: LSA 423 and 540. Gold/gilded statues set up for anyone other than the emperor himself were exceptional—but see, with special approval of the emperor, LSA 1439 (compare LSA 877 and 1440). A rare literary attestation of such extraordinary honours: the emperor Iulianus rewards Aurelius Victor *inter alia* with an *aenea statua*, Ammianus 21.10.6.

²⁷ Feissel (1984: 551–2).

it likely that such materials were the exception rather than the rule.

HONOURS TO GOVERNORS BY INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

Already in the high empire, among honours to governors, many more were made by collective bodies (in general the council and people of a city) than by individuals or groups. Among the individuals, it appears that, in the high empire, people with a direct or indirect working relationship with the governor predominated. In late antiquity, in contrast, this type of honour is hardly attested. This is probably not an accident of transmission but a real change, as can be illustrated by the inscriptions from provincial capitals, governors' residences, or *praetoria*. According to the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *CTh* 1.15.12 (AD 386) and 1.12.6 (AD 398), the size of the staff and office of the governor may have numbered between 100 and 400, depending on the rank and size of the province. Only a few such inscriptions are known from *praetoria* or the capital of a province in late antiquity. In Lambaesis, probably two members of the *officium* honour the son of the *praeses Numidia* (LSA 2680, before AD 303). Another inscription of this type comes from Aphrodisias (LSA 225). There are also honours that the governor received from members of his *officium* at a later date in his home in the city of Rome. For example, a *cornicularius* honoured his former superior, Iulianus, *consularis Numidia* (between AD 374 and 380) in Iulianus' house in Rome (LSA 1392; compare LSA 1569).²⁸ The small number of honours given by *officiales* may be related to the fewer opportunities available to a governor to promote and reward individual members of his *officium*. The official framework for promotion in late antiquity was based primarily on length of service, and so it seems not to have allowed the

²⁸ Compare the *suffragium* by a *consularis aquarum* made to promote someone to become *procurator aquarum* in Rome (before AD 295, *PLRE* I Titianus 9 and LSA 1325).

governor much freedom (CTh 8.7.1, 3 March 315). Nonetheless, the inscriptions mentioned above as well as indications in literary sources and imperial constitutions show that some exceptions were made.²⁹

Similarly, other people who had been in contact with the governor seem only rarely to have expressed their obligation or gratitude through a statue with honorific inscription. In Ephesos, in all likelihood the promotion of economic interests was the reason why the trading group *Emboleitai* honoured (the proconsul?) Theodorus with an epigram (LSA 726). In Side in the mid-fourth century, a certain Eurycles honoured the *praeses Pamphyliae* as his personal benefactor and as benefactor of the city for work completed on the harbour (LSA 268). The honour was set up in the theatre, most likely in agreement with the city council. Alongside these and a few other honours initiated and/or financed by individuals and groups, there is a whole series of honours for former governors who are honoured in Rome and other cities of the empire for actions not connected to their service as governor.³⁰ For some of these honours, it is plausible that they were set up in the *domus* or on the property of the honorand. In other cases, the mere fact of being set up in the city of Rome may have created a link to the senatorial traditions of the high empire.³¹ As a consequence, and in contrast to the governors in the provinces, the *praefectus urbi* in Rome (and analogously no doubt the prefect of Constantinople too), holding a parallel office to that of the provincial governor and with many similar duties, was offered a large number of honours from individual persons or groups in the capital, the seat of senatorial tradition.³²

²⁹ Jones (1964: 530–32, 633–40); Noethlichs (1981: 57–69).

³⁰ e.g. in Rome, inscribed honours set up by *collegia*: LSA 1390, 1394, 1396, 1398, 1399, and 1441.

³¹ For the coherence of the senatorial elite and the senatorial tradition in Rome, see Salzman (2000), contra Heather (1998).

³² Statues for the prefects, e.g. of the city of Rome, set up by various guilds: LSA 1394, 1396, 1399, 1401, 1441, 1442, 1443, and 1444. By the Senate: LSA 1416 and 1438. By family,

HONOURS SET UP BY CITIES OF THE PROVINCE

The great mass of honours for governors was decreed by the cities and erected in the city in question. Often the city's *ordo* (an elite of leading citizens) or council alone is named, or both the council and the citizen body, as those who have decreed the honour.³³ In a number of cases, especially in the east in texts that are not modelled on decrees, the cities are mentioned only by their names without reference to the institution that passed the honorific decree. On account of the large number of inscriptions, only a few examples will be cited to illustrate a series of different aspects.

When the honours given to late antique governors by the cities of their province are reviewed, it stands out at once that many honours name only one office—the governorship—irrespective of whether they are Latin honours with the character of a decree, simple, shorter Latin or Greek honorific texts, or a Greek epigram. The listing of a number of offices or a complete *cursus honorum*, as was so frequently recorded in honours under the high empire, was evidently restricted in the fourth and fifth century to honours in the city of Rome and inscriptions in the governors' home communities (especially in Italy).

In the case of governors of the rank of *virī perfectissimi*, however, not only the governorship is mentioned in inscriptions in provincial cities, but in many cases the office or honorific title of *comes primi ordinis* is also cited.³⁴ This title links the office-holder verbally with the highest authority in the empire.

Many of the honours given by cities in the west refer to the decree of the *ordo* in which it was decided that a governor, for specific reasons, would be awarded an honour in the form of a

a client, and even a slave: 1426, 2666, and 1422. By emperors: LSA 342, 1395, 1407 (Fig. 10.7), 1435, and 1458.

³³ See Liebeschuetz (2006: 470–72), on the development of city government.

³⁴ Scharf (1994a).

statue for his conduct of office. The most typical formulae in the fourth century honour the justness and good judgement of the governor (e.g. LSA 1634 and 1734). The origin of the honour in a decree is clear and recognizable in all texts that introduce the reason for praise and honour of the governor's person and conduct by the words *quod, ut, or ob*.

In Greek-speaking regions, in the course of the third century there was a change in the form of the honorific inscription for office-holders (both civic and imperial) and for local notables: from the fourth century, verse is clearly the dominant form in Greek honorific inscriptions. These epigrams range from two to ten lines or occasionally even more. Only rarely are short, simple prose texts chosen as a form of honour instead of verse. They give the names and office of the honorand, the name of the honouring city, and, in a few words, the reason for the honour. A standard example is an honour with six short prose lines by which the governor Flavius Optimus is honoured as benefactor and saviour by the city of Meirus in Phrygia in the fourth century (LSA 543). In the eastern provinces, however, the epigram was clearly the most common form of honour for governors. One such example is LSA 516, which states: 'My friend, I am the statue of Eustathius', and then declares that it testifies to the good things the proconsul has done for Smyrna's council (*boule*) and what the council has done for the proconsul by honouring him. This example from Smyrna is somewhat atypical of epigrams to governors in that it includes an address to the viewer and names and praises the city council itself, but does not mention the proconsul's judicial activities. Especially the last aspect, justice, is one of the regular features of both Greek and Latin honorific texts for non-military Roman office-holders.³⁵ In the late fourth century, the Megarian honours for the governor Phosphorius raise the main subjects: good judgements, righteousness, and building activity (LSA 57). In addition to the various

spheres of the governor's activity and behaviour, the education and wisdom of the office-holder are often also mentioned.

Another striking aspect of late antique honours for governors is that in many cases the inscription mentions not only the honorand himself but also ancestors and relatives who held office in the imperial administration (e.g. LSA 94, 877, and 1467). Elaborate references to family and individual family members were probably almost always prompted by the wishes of the honorand. Most such references, however, come from the western part of the empire; in the east the epigrams refer sometimes in more general terms to excellent ancestry but usually not to individual relatives.

LOCATION

In general, such honorific statues were set up in the cities that had decreed the honour. In some provinces there is a concentration in the provincial capital, the most important place of residence of the governor. This is true, for example, of Ephesus in Asia, Aphrodisias in Caria, Leptis in Tripolitania, and Cirta in Numidia. The inscribed honours, most of them on the bases of portrait statues, were set up in public. The places within the cities where the honours were erected in essence match those of the high empire (e.g. at Aphrodisias, Fig. 12.1). The most common locations were fora (as in Leptis Magna) (Fig. 16.11), theatres (as in Sparta, Ephesus, and, in Capua, the amphitheatre), and public streets (the *embolos* in Ephesus, Fig. 13.9). As already mentioned, the *praetorium* was an unusual locale (Gortyn) (Fig. 17.1); here statues were set up by the governors themselves to the emperors, and other high-ranking office-holders may have predominated.

It is only occasionally possible to identify honours by cities that were set up in the governor's home town. Possible indications are words like *civis* or *patria*. It must also be noted that *civis* does not mean that the person thus described is originally from (*origo*) the city in which he is a 'citizen'. In the western provinces, the few honours that come

³⁵ Robert (1948); Neri (1981); Slootjes (2006: 47–76).

from the governor's home town often mention his position as patron of the town.³⁶

FINANCING AND ERECTING HONOURS

In both west and east, the statues and bases for the honoured governor were, until the early fifth century at least (see below), financed by the cities themselves. There are only a few exceptions. In Madauros, the honour for the proconsul (AD 326–33) and patron of the city was funded by two brothers, *flamines perpetui* (priests of the imperial cult) and city patrons (LSA 2446). Probably only a few years later, the same city decreed an honour for a deserving governor who was also patron of the city (LSA 2447). Physical proximity to the previous inscription—and perhaps other privately financed honours for governors—may be what led the city council to include a unique note in the inscription, stating explicitly that (this time) it paid for the statue from its own resources.

In a handful of inscriptions it is made explicit that the costs were covered by an individual citizen.³⁷ A few other inscriptions name the people responsible for getting the work done.³⁸ The fact that in some of these inscribed texts the honorand is not praised for specific benefactions but only for the civic epigram's usual triad of education, justice, and good conduct of office weighs in favour of seeing most of the people named as responsible in the inscription as having taken on not only the *cura* but also (partly) the funding of the honour.

HONOURS AWARDED BY PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES

It seems that it was not a matter of course that governors would be honoured by provinces and

provincial assemblies (*concilia, koina*). In a letter, Symmachus attempted to conceal his evident disappointment that, as *proconsul Africae* (AD 373–4), he was denied this honour by the assembly of the province, and had even received negative *decreta*.³⁹ Here there is evidently a discrepancy between self-perception and perceptions by others, unless a potential honour by the province fell prey to an anti-pagan intrigue.⁴⁰ Another measure of how rarely this type of honour was awarded and recorded in stone is the small number of extant inscribed provincial honours compared to the civic honours set up in the provincial capital cities.

From the time of Constantine, it was the task of the *concilia* to submit a report to the emperor, via the praetorian prefects or *comites*, about the conduct and activities of the governor (*CTh* 1.16.6.1 = *CJ* 1.40.3, AD 331).⁴¹ Constantine wanted to make a governor's subsequent career dependent on his activity and conduct in the province, and on how the provincials judged him. A reaction to such a report is preserved in *IEphesos* 44. This is a letter of three praetorian prefects to the proconsul of Asia, Flavius Heliodorus (between 439 and 442).⁴² The prefects write that they were happy to have read that the inhabitants of Asia made an acclamation in his honour and praised his excellent government. He is said to have surpassed his own earlier achievements. The praetorian prefects have therefore reported this to the emperor as well as the honours he had received. The proconsul is exhorted to continue working in this way, for which he will surely be rewarded by the emperor.

Honorific statues and inscriptions, rather than acclamations, are attested as awards by a province to several governors. These statues were set up in the home town of the governors, far from the province and after the governors' time in

office.⁴³ More often, however, in the fourth century, the extant honours awarded to governors by their provinces are found in the province where the honorand served, usually in the capital: in Malaga, Baetica (LSA 2007); in Cirta, Numidia (LSA 2321 and 2327: these bronze statues required the permission of the emperor—see above with note 26); in Gortyn, Crete (LSA 774); in Aphrodisias, Caria (LSA 222 and 227); and in Ephesus, Asia (LSA 733). This last text is inscribed on the back of a high marble base, the front of which bears an honorific epigram for a proconsul inscribed on the order of the council of Ephesus (LSA 730). Evidently, the Ephesians had given the *koinon* permission to re-use a base that they had previously set up and paid for.

In addition to the few attestations of honours for governors awarded by the *koina*, there are also honours given by provinces for members of the imperial family and for praetorian prefects, but these are even fewer in number than the extant honours for governors.

WHEN WERE GOVERNORS HONOURED?

According to Dio 6.25.6, Augustus ruled that the governors were only allowed to be honoured sixty days or more after their term of office ended. There are good reasons to believe that this rule applied also in late antiquity,⁴⁴ though that is not to say that the rule was always observed. *CJ* 1.24.1 (AD 398, Mediolanum) prohibited governors from accepting statues, no

matter of what material they were made, that were set up to them during their term of office. Governors caught permitting or accepting this kind of honour had to pay a fine. An exception could be granted, but only by the emperor.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the second half of the fourth century, inscriptions reveal that permission was required for statues of precious metal, but this seems to be independent of the rules about the timing of the honours. There are numerous potential reasons for the decrease in honorific portrait statues to governors, such as the importance of the civic role of Christian bishops, the changed perception of traditional benefactions and new forms of Christian charity, and the many important shifts in civic and social culture and the function of public places and churches in cities. The decrease in statues may also, however, simply result from the plain instruction that statues set up to office-holders had to be funded by the honorand himself (*CJ* 1.24.4, AD 444). This may also be one of the reasons why, from the fifth century onwards, acclamations written on stone or mosaic or painted portraits accompanied by epigrams became important means for communities to honour a governor.⁴⁵

It is clear, however, that from the late third to the early fifth century it was generally cities that honoured a governor of their province. Only a few governors received statuary honours in the name of the province, while individuals or groups of people honoured a governor or other senatorial office-holders most often in their houses or other places of restricted access.

The public display of the inscribed texts on statue bases or other objects in the city's public spaces probably aimed in two directions. One

⁴³ Some examples. (1) LSA 1989 for a *proconsul Asiae* in Spain; (2) LSA 378 for a governor of *Lugdunensis III* set up in Pannonia; LSA 1406 and 1536 for a governor of Africa honoured in Rome; (3) Iulius Festus Hymetius, *proconsul Africae* (AD 366–8), was honoured in AD 376 by the province of Africa with two gilded statues, one in Rome, one in Carthage (LSA 1439)—these exceptional honours are connected with his crisis management in Africa, his fall into disgrace, and his subsequent rehabilitation—on which see Ammianus 28.1.17–25, with Horster (1998: 56).

⁴⁴ Some texts make clear that the honours were set up after the term of office was over—e.g. LSA 1469: *post administrationem*.

³⁶ Krause (1987b); Folcando (1994).

³⁷ Athens, two statues for the proconsul: LSA 423 (AD 379–395). Argos: LSA 998 (4th c.) and 999 (4th–5th c.).

³⁸ e.g. LSA 103, 1684, and 2226. If a pagan priest were made responsible for the *cura*, this might have been an indication of the pagan religion or at least great tolerance of the honoured governor.

³⁹ Symm. *Ep.* 9.115, written after AD 374.

⁴⁰ Lepelley (1981: 15, with n. 17).

⁴¹ On the duties of late antique *concilia*, see Cecconi (1994: 83–106).

⁴² Inscribed on one of the columns at the Street of the Curetes; a fragment of a second inscription of this text was published by Sängner (2010).

⁴⁵ Obvious disappointment at bad behaviour is appeased by acclamations of the Ephesians in *SEG* 49, 1487. On the increasing importance of acclamations: Roueché (1984; 1999a); Wiemer (2004). On honorific portraits in new media: Mango (1986).

was that of the citizens' and the city's pride and self-esteem: their rank in the region or province was showcased by the visible presentation of good connections to the imperial administration and its power. The second was that of the governors, prefects, and the few other high-ranking imperial office-holders acting in the cities: they were to be inspired to equal their predecessors as good judges, administrators, and benefactors.

The reason for setting up honours for office-holders in their houses was different in the case of individuals and groups. They had made a specific request, or had a privilege granted or confirmed for themselves, their family or their professional group—in each case a one-off event. It could not be expected that these requests would be granted to the same person or group by all their successors in office. So the primary interest of these persons was to show gratitude to the honorand himself.

Irrespective of the reasons for setting up statuary honours and the use of inscribed acclamations, honorific epigrams, panegyrics, speeches, and letters, the reduction in the numbers of statues set up compared to the imperial period and the restriction in the group of persons involved may both be connected to the increased distance between the different groups in society and the political world. The honours set up for

post-Constantinian emperors by office-holders became very exclusive in the provinces (erected by governors—with only rare exceptions by others such as *rationales rerum privatarum*), in the cities of Rome and Constantinople (by the urban prefects), and a few other cities such as Ostia (*praefectus annonae*).

Related to this, the honours set up to emperors by the cities in the fourth century are few in number and decrease in the course of the century. In *CJ* 24.1.3 (AD 439) a reason is given for the ban on statues to emperors financed in part or completely by private individuals. The individual should stand at an insurmountable distance from the emperors and should not suggest any closeness to the rulers of the empire by creating a link through the funding of a statue of an emperor. The distance between governors and subjects was less extreme, but it was nonetheless perceived and maintained. It was only in the context of the publicly visible honours from cities to governors and emperors (at least in the fourth century) that individuals could be named. Indeed, the perceived distance from the governor, who represented the emperor and his authority in the province, may not have been the only element in play: the cities may have wished to keep this exclusively for themselves.

CHAPTER 20

Women

Kathrin Schade

The habit of dedicating honorific statues to women was a long-standing tradition in Roman culture.¹ Like their male counterparts, women were honoured in public spaces for previous activities as benefactresses; for example, as dedicators of public buildings. The city or community expressed its gratitude for such generosity by dedicating a portrait statue. This public 'consensus ritual'² involved all female representatives of the Roman upper classes: empresses, members of the imperial family, and rich aristocratic ladies. Sculptured portraits of females, however, could also serve other purposes. The funerary context, for example, saw many female portraits, including portraits of women belonging to less distinguished social classes. Although, in statistical terms, the number of male portraits was always greater, those of women can be described as omnipresent during the imperial period.

This situation did not change with the advent of late antiquity, though female portraits naturally experienced the same general problems that apply

to male portraits. The relative proportion of portraits in the round reduced rapidly from the third to the sixth centuries, until it came to a complete halt in the seventh.³ Reworking of older portraits became the norm. Sometimes, only the inscription on the base was rededicated, and the original statue remained entirely unchanged. These circumstances give rise to major methodological problems in dating and assessing such portraits. In addition, sculptured portraits were increasingly replaced by paintings and mosaics, as well as by works in small formats.⁴

Nonetheless, there is evidence for numerous portraits of women from late antiquity—both literary and epigraphic attestations and surviving statuary.⁵ The LSA database includes about 75 statues of women attested epigraphically, 30 literary attestations (all imperial), and some 160 items of surviving statuary. Female members of the imperial family continued to be honoured with public statues, although their distribution and placement became increasingly regulated, subject to the clearly defined oversight of special office-holders.⁶ Statues continued to be erected

I thank R. R. R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins for the opportunity to publish this contribution in the present volume. Further, my thanks go to the Winckelmann-Institute of Classical Archaeology at Humboldt-University Berlin for bearing the copyright fee of photographs (Rodenwaldt-Fonds), and to Heinrich Hall for the first English draft. This chapter represents some results of my dissertation 'Frauen in der Spätantike' (2001, Humboldt-University Berlin); see Schade (2003).

¹ Alexandridis (2004: 13–38, 109–12).

² Consensus ritual: Bergmann (2000a: 172); Bauer and Witschel (2007: 15–16).

³ See the graph for the period AD 364–610 in Smith (1985: 217–18, fig. 1); Bauer and Witschel (2007: 1–24, fig. 2).

⁴ Schade (2003: 72–84, 89–94).

⁵ Schade (2003: 62–71, 229–41 = appendix II (literary and epigraphic evidence), 84–9, 167–228 = appendix I (archaeological evidence)).

⁶ Pekáry (1985: 21, 112–13); Bauer (1996: 327–9); Horster (1998: 58).

down to that of the emperor Phocas in AD 608.⁷ Apparently there were as yet no scruples concerning three-dimensional representation in spite of the rise of Christianity and its supposed aversion to 'graven images'. There is literary evidence for several statues of empress Theodora, the wife of Justinian I (527–65), although no coins were minted with her portrait.⁸ Most statues still served as expressions of gratitude for specific acts of euergetism. An example known from literature is an imperial statue group of Justin II (565–78), his wife, Sophia, his mother, Viglencia, and his niece Arabia, dedicated in thanksgiving for the renovation of the port facilities in Constantinople.⁹ Statues stood in public squares or public buildings, and soon also in exalted positions on pillars, arches, or roofs, creating a spatial distance from the observer.¹⁰ Images of members of the imperial family also came to adorn churches, first as statues, then increasingly in the form of two-dimensional images. Frescoes and mosaics, decorating the interior walls of churches, offered new possibilities for imperial representation (Fig. 20.1).¹¹

At the same time, sculptured portraits of non-imperial women continued to be produced. There was a break, however, with previous practice in the mid-fifth century, when public statues came to be dedicated mainly for high-ranking office-holders.¹² Women were barred from political office and rarely received public honours (LSA 668 records a rare example for a benefactress in Phrygia Salutaris in AD 478–80).¹³ Public

statues of women now became a rarity. Two prominent examples, one from the east and one from the west, may illustrate this change.

The statue of Scholastica at Ephesos was found in the Bath of Varius there, with its inscribed base (Fig. 13.1).¹⁴ According to the inscription, Scholastica had financed the restoration of the baths. In all likelihood, the complex had been destroyed by an earthquake in AD 368, so that the repairs ought have been undertaken in the final third of the fourth century, the honorific statue being erected in the immediate aftermath, near the end of that century. It remains disputed whether the statue is a work of the middle imperial period that was re-used in late antiquity or whether it represents a new creation of the Theodosian era.¹⁵ Whichever the case, it represents one of the latest known public statues dedicated to a woman benefactor of non-imperial background.

From the Esquiline Hill in Rome come an inscribed base and statue dedicated to the chief vestal virgin, Coelia Concordia.¹⁶ The dedicator is named as Fabia Aconia Paulina, wife of the important pagan Vettius Agorius Praetextatus.¹⁷ The statue, now in the Galleria Colonna in Rome, is a second-century work re-used in late antiquity.¹⁸ Paulina had it erected around 385, but not—as had been traditional practice—in the *atrium Vestae*, but in her family's urban villa on the Esquiline.¹⁹ Thus, statuary dedications for women of senatorial rank, *clarissimae feminae*, were now limited to a closer family circle and the private house.

⁷ LSA 1313. *CIL* VI, 1200; Stichel (1982: 115, no. 145); Mango (1963: 71–2, n. 96).

⁸ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 1.11.8–9; *Parastaseis* 81: 158–9, 271–2; Bauer (1996: 165, 222–3, 245, 414); Schade (2003: 238–9, II 77–9). For coin images of imperial women since Augustus: Alexandridis (2004: 18–28); for later periods: Schade (2003: 8–19, 43–62).

⁹ LSA 347. *Parastaseis* 35; *Patria* 2.30; Stichel (1982: 113, no. 136); *Parastaseis*, 94–5; Bauer (1996: 166); cf. LSA 346.

¹⁰ Bauer (1996: 336–8, 393–4); Smith (1999: 171).

¹¹ e.g. the church of St John the Evangelist, built around 430 by Galla Placidia and initially richly adorned with mosaics: Deichmann (1974: 107–24); Schade (2003: 66–7).

¹² Stichel (1982: 15–16, n. 98a); Pekáry (1985: 71); Horster (1998: 57); Smith (1999: 155–89).

¹³ Smith (1999: 173, 175); Bergmann (2000b: 242–3).

¹⁴ LSA 741–2. *SEG* XVI 718; Miltner (1956/7: 22–3, fig. 15); Schade (2003: 68–9, 240, II 90, pl. 10, 2).

¹⁵ Strocka (1985: 229) (*terminus post 368*) argues that it is a re-used funerary statue; for discussion see Schade (2003: 68–9, 87–8).

¹⁶ *PLRE*, 218–19; *CIL* VI 2145 = 32408; Schade (2003: 69–70, 239, II 83).

¹⁷ *PLRE*, 675 Paulina no. 4; also Symm. *Ep.* 2.36.

¹⁸ LSA 1296. Picozzi (1990: 157–62, no. 87).

¹⁹ Frei-Stolba (1998: 250–51, with nn. 105–7). Generally: Behrwalddt (2009: 143–4).

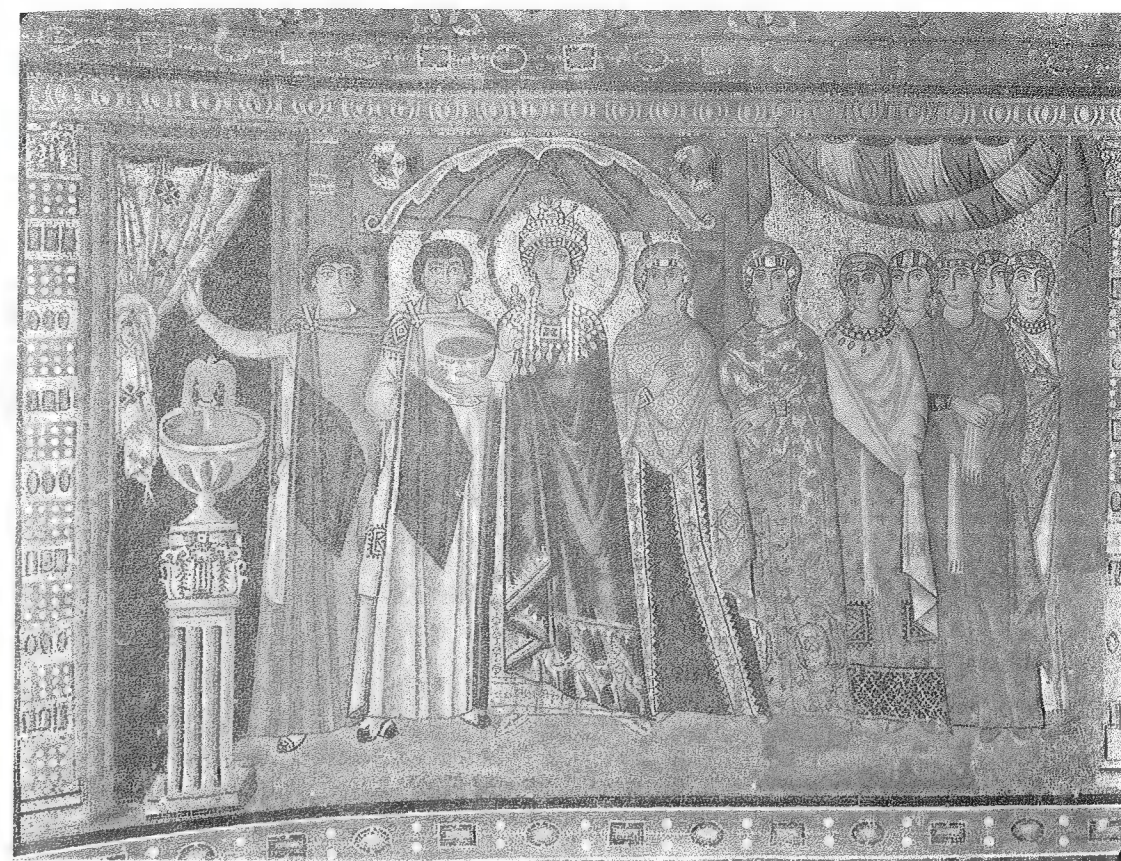


Fig. 20.1 Wall mosaic showing empress Theodora and retinue. c.540. San Vitale, Ravenna.

SEMANTICS OF FEMALE PORTRAITS: TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION

The appearance of female portraits from late antiquity, as well as their semantic characteristics, were derived from the repertoire of traditional portraiture. Certain features remained, while others underwent gradual change, in terms of style and iconography. In the following, I will attempt to elucidate this interplay between tradition and innovation chronologically, in reference to especially striking visual markers.

The tetrarchs placed less emphasis on family, and portraits of tetrarchic imperial women were not common. No securely identified portrait sculpture survives,²⁰ and they did not appear on coins. Constantine, however, returned to the practice of

bolstering his power by traditional dynastic methods. Numismatic and sculptured portraits of both his wife, Fausta, and his mother, Helena, survive.

In the Capitoline Museum in Rome, there is a seated female statue (LSA 965) of the 'Aphrodite-Olympias' type (Fig. 20.2) with portrait features.²¹ The statue was made in the second century, but the portrait is a later reworking.²² The new portrait has a distinctive braid-wreath (*Zopfkrantz*) hairstyle—that is, with an elaborate ring-shaped bun at the back of the head, which was high fashion in Constantine's day. The portrait has a broad, fleshy

²¹ Museo Capitolino, inv. 496. Fittschen and Zanker (1983: 36, no. 38, pls 47, 48); Schade (2003: 173–5, I 9, pl. 28, 1–4) (with older bibliography); Alexandridis (2004: 194–5, no. 205, 222–3, A 6, pl. 46, 2, 4); Hannestad (2007: 106–8, I.9.45, fig. 16); Schade (2009: 216–18, fig. 1).

²⁰ Imperial women under the tetrarchy: Schade (2003: 17–18). For the tetrarchic portrait in general: Bergmann (2007a).

²² Blanck (1969: 56–7, n. 35, pl. 25); Arata (1993: 185–200).



Fig. 20.2 Statue of empress Helena. From Rome. Early fourth century, LSA 965. Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. MC 496/S. H: 123 cm.

face, aquiline nose, and wide-open eyes. According to Raissa Calza, it depicts Helena, mother of Constantine. This interpretation is plausible and is based on the similarity of the head to Helena's coin portraits—especially the distinctively shaped nose, which also characterizes Constantine's own portraits—and on the fact that there is a copy (albeit inexact) of this statue in Florence (LSA 966).²³ Constantinian traditionalism is directly reflected in this contemporary use of an older statue type. Through this practice, traditional posture and costume were perpetuated almost automatically. The posture of the 'Aphrodite-Olympias' type embodied concepts of beauty and matronhood. These virtues may be seen to correspond with the physiognomy of the reworked portrait head. As on Constantinian coins, family-based dynasty and female role models of matrimony and motherhood were underlined. For Constantine, honouring his mother, Helena, as the *genetrix* of his family was a key aspect of legitimizing his rule.²⁴

Portrait art of the Constantinian era is characterized by a faithful regard for conventions and a deliberate use of traditional content and forms of expression. The 'classical' image, however, was also in flux. Such change began in the third century and can be exemplified in the following tendencies: use of expressive stylistic means, symbolic underlining of semantic content, and reduction in variety of imagery in favour of fewer, more idealized designs. Abstract elements, such as widely opened eyes, now belonged to the striking characteristics of Constantinian portrait stylization. In addition, empresses on coins and a few three-dimensional portrait busts wear sculpted jewellery. This is all the more remarkable as the portraiture of the imperial period had largely eschewed an emphasis on personal ornaments, to avoid any accusation of *luxuria*.²⁵ In general, the addition of such attributes to female portraits grew at an increasing rate during late antiquity.

The portrait of Helena presents an image of the matron that was to become a leading influence in the subsequent period. A second-century statue in Copenhagen, of the traditional matronly 'Ceres' type,²⁶ was re-used in late antiquity (LSA 409, Fig. 20.3).²⁷ According to the style of the recut portrait, this was under Valentinian or in the early reign of Theodosius. The statue bears an inscription dating from the same period as the reworked head: *THN ΠΙΝΥΘΗΝ ΕΚΥΡΗΝ ΕΥΒΟΛΙΟΝ ΙΣΑΤΟ ΓΑΜΒΡΟΣ*, 'Eubulion, the son-in-law, set up his wise mother-in-law'. The 'wise mother-in-law' wears her hair in the same braid-wreath style as Helena, and has the full

²⁵ Schade (2003: 55–7, 112–15); Alexandridis (2004: 71–4). The portraits in Berlin, SMB Antikensammlung, inv. 449, and in the Villa Borghese at Rome, inv. 2842 (neither is of Helena), feature plastically rendered decorative hairpins: Schade (2003: 176–7, I 11 and I 12 pl. 30, 1–3) (with further bibliography); LSA 967 and 968.

²⁶ Alexandridis (2004: 58–61, 229–31, table 9).

²⁷ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek no. 552, inv. 710. Blanck (1969: 58–61, no. A 37, pls 28, 29); Johansen (1995: 196–9, no. 87); Schade (2003: 181–2, I 19, pls 34; 35, 3) (with older bibliography); Alexandridis (2004: 230, no. 17); Schade (2009: 217–19, fig. 2).

²³ Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 191.171. Calza (1955: 108–9); Schade (2003: 175–6, I 10 pl. 29, 1–3); Alexandridis (2004: 192–3, no. 199, 223 A 2, pl. 46, 1, 3).

²⁴ Schade (2003: 59–60).

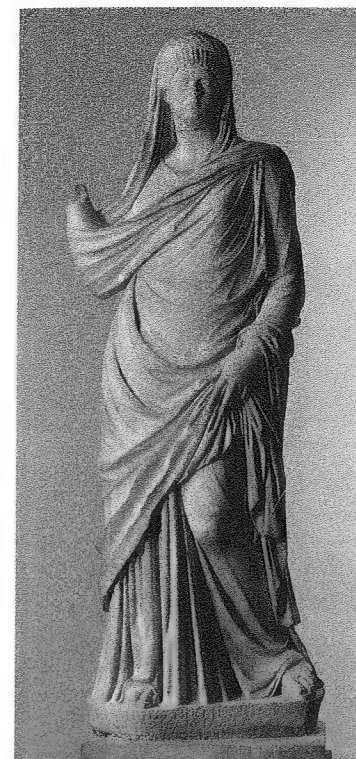


Fig. 20.3 Statue re-used by one Eubulion in honour of his mother-in-law. Fourth century, LSA 409. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 710. H: 189 cm.

face and under-chin usually associated with matronhood.

The bust of a woman in Thessaloniki (LSA 91) was created around the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries (Fig. 20.4).²⁸ The woman is wearing the crown-braid (*Scheitelzopf*) hair arrangement, one of the most popular female hairstyles in late antiquity. The voluminous plait covers the entire back of the head and is then tucked underneath itself on top of the head. The face appears fleshy, but highly idealized. Its enormous convex eyes are strikingly dominant. The bust is conventionally dressed in a chiton and himation. It has a male counterpart, a bust wearing a chlamys,

²⁸ LSA 91. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1060. L'Orange (1961: 68–75, pl. 27, 2, 4); Schade (2003: 206–7, I 47, pl. 55, 1, 2).

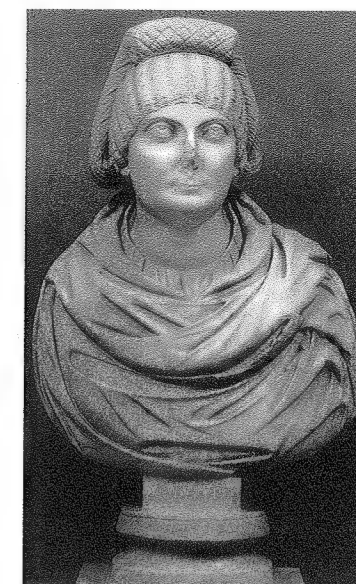


Fig. 20.4 Bust of woman. From modern village of Naoussa. Early fifth century, LSA 91. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1060. H: 76 cm.

contemporary office-holder costume (LSA 90) (Fig. 23.20).²⁹ The man's physiognomy has wrinkles around the forehead, nose, and mouth, and it has a life-like aspect. This difference between the stylization of the woman and the man is deliberate: whereas the seemingly naturalistic features of the man expressed male virtues, such as decisiveness, a lady's praiseworthy characteristic was a mixture of ideal beauty and maternal maturity. In the Thessaloniki couple, man and woman, a *dominus* and *domina* of late Roman nobility, well represent their social status and the idealized roles for their respective genders.

Two-dimensional images increasingly took over the function of portraits, and here the same iconographic strategy is visible. A floor mosaic from the baths at Sidi Ghrib in Tunisia depicts another married couple. The woman is shown applying toiletry surrounded by her servants (Fig. 20.5), while the man is represented at the

²⁹ Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1061. L'Orange (1961: pl. 27, 1 and 3).

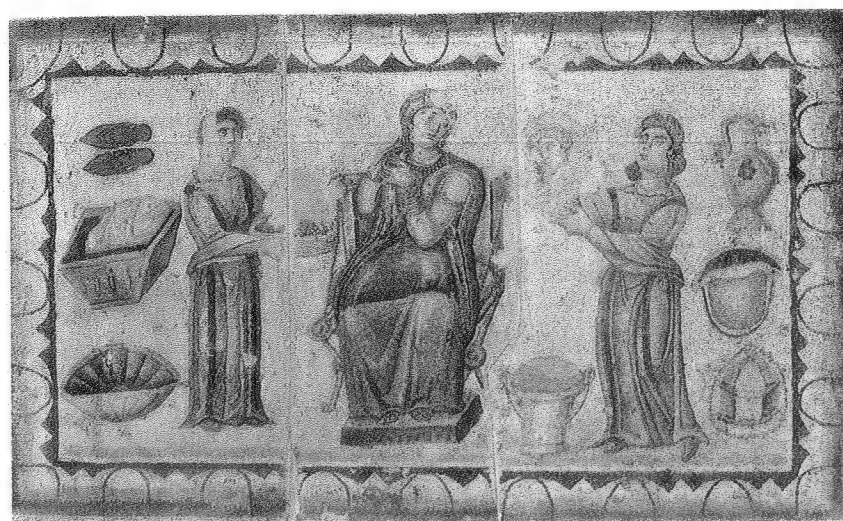


Fig. 20.5 Mosaic showing a woman at her toilette. Later fourth century. From baths at Sidi Ghrib. Tunis, Musée National de Bardo.

hunt.³⁰ In the famous ivory diptych at Monza, depicting a family of high rank, probably Stilicho and Serena,³¹ once again the gender-specific features are revealing: while the woman, accompanied by her son, wears jewellery and holds a rose, the husband presents his weaponry (Fig. 20.6).

Matrimony, motherhood, and the domestic setting of the woman all follow a social pattern that served as the integrative image for aristocratic female identity. In lived reality, too, the sphere of the female was largely limited to the home. The borders between private ambient and official activities, however, were often fluid: domicilium and domus could fulfil official functions. The aristocracy's social self-image afforded a key role to the wife. She was the 'ornament' of the family, part of the *senatorum splendor*.³²

The bust of a woman in New York (Fig. 20.7) belongs to the same period as the Thessaloniki

pair.³³ As on the Sidi Ghrib mosaic and the Monza diptych, the woman's hair is completely covered by a bonnet. Covered hair was soon to become an obligatory aspect of a married women's dress code, in images as in real life. Visible under the bonnet is the voluminous crown-braid, comparable to the hairstyle of the Thessaloniki matrona. It is noteworthy that the bust includes the right hand holding a scroll. Education had been an aspect of praise for women since the Hellenistic period. Starting in the third century AD, attributes of education, such as scroll or diptych, become increasingly common in female representation, especially on sarcophagi with Muses.³⁴

As an aristocratic lady and mistress of the imperial household, the empress served to enhance her husband's social integrity: through her ability to bear children, she ensured the preservation of the imperial dynasty. Under Theodosius, however, the image of the empress gained a further semantic dimension.

³⁰ Tunis, Musée national du Bardo. Ennabli (1986: pl. 14, bottom of page); Schade (2003: 246, III 11, frontispiece; 2009: 218–19, fig. 3).

³¹ Treasury of the Duomo S. Giovanni Battista. Delbrueck (1929: 242–4, no. 63, pl. 63); Schade (2003: 244 III 3, pl. 15, 2; 2009: 218–20, fig. 5). See also Küllerich and Torp (1989: 350–59).

³² *praestiti honoris splendor* (CTh 12.1.93); Näf (1995: 144); Schlinkert (1996: 117).

³³ LSA 8. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1966.25. Breckenridge (1979: 290–91, no. 269); Schade (2003: 208–10, I 49, pl. 56, 1–3).

³⁴ Examples in Ewald (1999); Huskinson (1999: 190–213).



Fig. 20.6 Ivory diptych of 'Serena'. Later fourth or early fifth century. Monza, Cathedral. H: 32.2 cm. Cast, Ashmolean Museum.

The National Library in Paris possesses an under-life-sized statue that can be identified, on the basis of its pearl diadem, as a Theodosian empress (LSA 568, Fig. 20.8).³⁵ The figure belongs to the few completely preserved (head

³⁵ Bibliothèque nationale (Cabinet des médailles), no. 13. Breckenridge (1979: 26–7, no. 20, pl. 1); Schade (2003: 204–6, I 46, pl. 54, 1 and 2; 2009: 227–30, fig. 8).

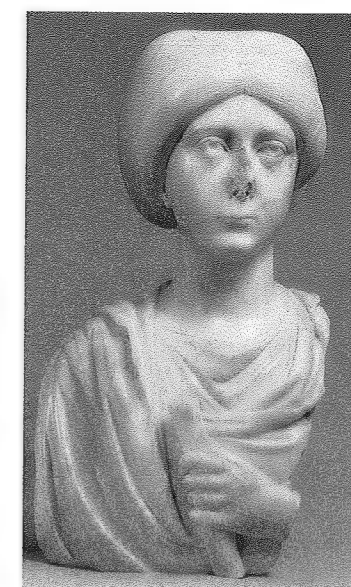


Fig. 20.7 Bust of woman. From Constantinople? Early fifth century, LSA 8. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 66.25. H: 53 cm.

and body) female statues from late antiquity which show no traces of reworking. It is an original statuary creation of the Theodosian era. The empress is clad in a diagonally draped *dalmatica*, a luxury garment also worn by other noblewomen. Traces of a splendid pearl necklace are preserved at the neck. Her narrow contours underline female dignity and aristocratic etiquette. Strange, however, is the flat body, lacking the slightest hint of female breasts. Actually, there are no female curves showing through the clothes, and the face also takes up this androgynous style. In this regard, the statue is sharply differentiated from contemporary images of non-imperial women, which clearly indicate physical female gender markers.³⁶ This seeming contradiction is founded in the ambiguous nature of the late Roman-Byzantine empress: coiffure, garb, and attributes underline her womanhood and nobility, while the reduced female form removes her from the general human level, transferring her to a heightened immaterial sphere.

³⁶ Schade (2009: 217–36).

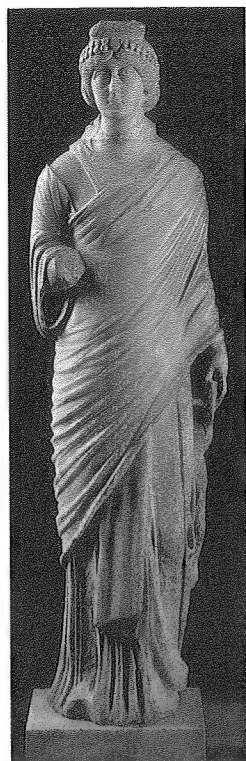


Fig. 20.8 Statue of an empress. From Cyprus. Early fifth century, LSA 568. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles. H: 78 cm.



Fig. 20.9 Ivory relief panel of empress, probably Ariadne. About 500. Florence, Bargello, inv. Carrand 24.

Byzantine crown and the imperial purple chlamys, and carries the official insignia, *sphaira* and sceptre. In terms of costume and insignia, the empress has been equated with the image of the emperor.

In the late fifth and early sixth centuries, evidence for three-dimensional portraits becomes rare. In the imperial portrait in Milan, usually interpreted as Theodora (LSA 760, Fig. 20.10),³⁸ the empress is wearing the early Byzantine crown with a double pearl diadem, a jewel adorning the forehead, and specially crafted *pendilia*. Her face is gaunt and has huge eyes. Nonetheless, its lower part includes a more 'lifelike' area with full jowls and underchin. Through its mixture of

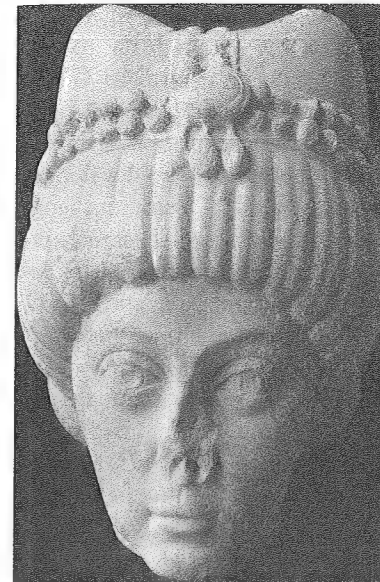


Fig. 20.10 Head of empress, probably Theodora. First half of sixth century, LSA 760. Milan, Museo d'Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, inv. 755. H: 20 cm.

expressive and realistic facial features, in combination with its exuberant headdress, the Milan head is close in semantic concept to the Theodora in the Ravenna mosaic. There too the empress has similarly gaunt facial features.

NEW AND TRADITIONAL: IMPERIAL AND PRIVATE

In the Ravenna mosaic (Fig. 20.1), Theodora, clad in the ruler's ceremonial garb, has been equated in costume and posture with the emperor himself, whose image faces hers. In late Roman-Byzantine court ceremony, *dominus noster* and *domina nostra* together represented the double nature of late antiquity's ruler persona, the image of suprapersonal rulership.³⁹ Imperial charisma was now of God's grace.⁴⁰ No longer did the emperor have to legitimize

himself through the virtues of republic or principate. A new, higher virtue was proximity to Christ, the Mother of God, and the saints. The empress participated in this form of imperial glamour. She was likened to the image of the emperor and advanced to a nearly asexual appearance. On the other hand, she continued to represent the human female component of imperial power through her ability to maintain the dynasty. Thus, femininity was also an irreplaceable factor in imperial representation, a complement rather than a contradiction to the heavy power costume that covered and obscured her shape.

In contrast to the image of the empress, portraits of private or non-imperial women remained conventional for longer. Initially, the canon of female virtues hardly changed at all. Grave inscriptions too repeated the traditional virtues—such as beauty, fecundity, piety, and marital faith (*dulcissima*, *carissima*, *pudicissima*, *fidelissima*, *castissima*, *piissima*)—independent of the religious creed of the deceased and their relatives. Even the Fathers of the Church continued to preach Roman values. For instance, in his *Epitaphium Paulae*, Hieronymus uses a canon of virtue modelled on those found in ancient literature.⁴¹ The same tendency can be observed in contemporary images. Painted and mosaic images of private women continued for a long time to emphasize traditional femininity—as in the Sidi Ghrib mosaic (Fig. 20.5). From the end of the fifth century, however, the image of a woman in a gesture of prayer, the so-called *orans* type, came to dominate grave frescoes and church mosaics more and more. It symbolized *philanthropia*, Christianized female *pietas*.⁴²

The traditional representation of social status and virtue in portraiture, however, did not come to a halt so soon. The dedicatory sheet of Anica Iuliana in the Vienna Dioscurides, from the first quarter of the sixth century, unites numerous

³⁹ Herrmann-Otto (1998: 366–8).

⁴⁰ Relevant here are Enßlin (1943) and Kantorowicz (1957); see also Alföldi (1999: 203); Bergmann (2000a: 171–2).

⁴¹ In general, see Wittern (1994); Krumeich (1993); Feichtinger (1995).

⁴² Orans-type as indicator of pagan female *pietas*: Alexandridis (2004: 79–81).

In the subsequent period, ceremonial splendour was established as a key aspect in the image of the empress. Well-known examples are the ivory plaques in Florence (Fig. 20.9) and Vienna, probably depicting the empress Ariadne around AD 500, and the famous mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna, with its images of Theodora and Justinian, around 540 (Fig. 20.1). Both the plaques and the mosaic demonstrate the result of a development that had its tentative beginnings already in Constantinian coin images, and had come into its own by the time of Theodosius.³⁷ The Augusta now wears a diadem or the

³⁷ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. X 39; Florence, Bargello, inv. Carrand 24; Ravenna: Deichmann (1958: pls 358–75, IX, X); McClanan (1998: 11–20; 2002: 121–48); Schade (2003: 55–7 (imperial dress on coins); 244, III 4, 5, pl. 13, 3–4; 246, III 13, pls 20, 1 and 21, 1–2).

³⁸ Museo d'arte antica, Castello Sforzesco 476, inv. 755. Breckenridge (1979: 33, no. 27); Stichel (1982: 63–4, pl. 33); Schade (2003: 227–8, I 67, pl. 67, 2–4).

traditional elements of female honorific imagery: the aristocratic woman is dressed appropriately to her status, and she is strikingly enthroned at the centre of the image, surrounded by female personifications of Generosity and Wisdom. A naked putto is handing Anicia a codex, on which she scatters money with her right hand.⁴³ According to the dedicatory inscription, Anicia Iuliana had dedicated a church of Mary in Honoratae, a suburb of Constantinople.⁴⁴ In accordance with the old tradition of consensus ritual, the benefactress is honoured by the city through an image, now painted on parchment rather than sculpted of stone.

⁴³ *Materia Medica* by Dioskurides; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis Graec. I, fol. 6v. Baumann (1999: 196, 238, fig. 31); Schade (2003: 245, III 10, pl. 14, 2).

⁴⁴ Premenstein (1903: 110–13).

At the Council of Ephesus in AD 431, it was decided to raise the Virgin Mary to the rank of *theotokos*, she who gave birth to God. She was now worthy of worship in her own right. Appropriate imagery had to be made available, and a new female pictorial concept was developed, that of Mary, Mother of God.⁴⁵ Numerous iconographic elements that had been used for female portraiture in previous decades contributed to this new image, including costume, posture, and physiognomy. The *theotokos* united Christian *virtus* in an absolute form. The image of Mary now became the central focus of all notions about the nature and range of female virtue. During the fifth to seventh centuries, it condensed into a new female ideal.

⁴⁵ Lange (1969); Belting (1990: 60–91, 131–53); Andaloro (2000: 416–24); Schade (2009: 230–32, fig. 9).

CHAPTER 21

Cultural heroes

Julia Lenaghan

CONTEMPORARY FIGURES

A small number of portraits set up in late antiquity (less than 3 per cent of the LSA total) represented cultural figures such as writers, poets, and philosophers. The group presents chronological difficulties because the portraits usually depend on the style of another era and are often found out of context.¹ There remains a small core group of late antique portraits of such cultural heroes, which are of considerable interest. They divide into two main groups: those for cultural figures of the distant classical past, and those for contemporary figures of the fourth and fifth centuries AD. This chapter looks at both groups, considers the first group in detail, and discusses briefly the context of display and the style of such portraits.

The LSA database has about eighty attestations—literary, epigraphic, and sculptural—for portraits of cultural and intellectual figures. Of these some fifty were for important figures of the past, while more than thirty portraits were for contemporary intellectuals. Fourteen such contemporary figures are known from their inscribed bases or from literary sources. They include an Aur. Sempronius Serenus Dulcitius (LSA 2198 and 2199), a poet or scholar of the late third or early fourth century; Marius Victorinus, a famous rhetorician and instructor in mid-fourth-century Rome (LSA 2674 and 1581); Themistius, a mid-fourth-century orator/panegyrist (LSA 467 and 468); Claudius Claudianus, a late fourth-century poet and panegyrist (LSA 1355); Iamblichus, a late fourth-century philosopher (LSA 135); Plutarchus, a Neoplatonist (LSA 136 and possibly LSA 134); Cucubitus, a philosopher (LSA 475); Julian, a sixth-century man of law (LSA 480); and Agathias, the sixth-century poet from Myrina (LSA 663).²

These bases have a loose but clear relationship to surviving sculptured portraits. Nine extant portraits or fragments of portraits have iconographic indicators (long hair over the ears, fillets, or attributes of Muses) that demonstrate cultural

¹ See Fittschen et al. (2010: 129–31, no. 129) for discussion of the problem. The following seem to belong in the 3rd c. (many have been considered 'Gallienic'), and were excluded from the LSA database. (1) Xenophon, Vatican, inv. 9912: Minakaran-Hiesgen (1970: 132–5, fig. 6); Danguillier (2001: 260, no. 60) (late Gallienic or later). (2) Herodotus, inscribed herm, Naples, National Museum, inv. 6146: POG I, 146, no. 3, figs 797–9. (3) Plato, Athens, National Museum, inv. 3735: POG II, 167, no. 21, figs 957–9. (4) Plato, Rome, National Museum, inv. 124480: POG II, 165, no. 4, figs 926 and 933. (5) Thucydides, Athens, National Museum, inv. 984: Richter I, 149, no. 5, fig. 846. (6) Xenophon–Isocrates double herm, Athens National Museum, inv. 538: Minakaran-Hiesgen (1970: 121–6, figs 4, 10, 13, 26). And (7) Antisthenes, now Capitoline: POG II, 180, no. 4, fig. 1053.

² Aedesius, LSA 740, identified by Foss (1979) as the philosopher, has been excluded.

or intellectual affiliation.³ These include a shield portrait of a philosopher (Aphrodisias, LSA 207) (Fig. 1.21); a shield portrait of a man with an extremely long beard (Athens, now lost, LSA 483); a portrait bust of a man with a striking physiognomy and straggly long hair (Aphrodisias, LSA 203) (Fig. 12.9); a head of a long-bearded man wearing a fillet (Rome, LSA 2545); and three further busts of long-haired and long-bearded men wearing a fillet (possibly even the same man: LSA 375 in Istanbul, LSA 1195 in Stockholm, LSA 1083 in Athens, Fig. 23.14).

Although they could well be of intellectual figures, a series of fragmentary or simply long-bearded portraits have been excluded: a heavily bearded head from Corinth, now in Boston (LSA 429), a fragment of a long-bearded man from Assos (Boston, LSA 363) (Fig. 8.10), and a bald-headed and long-bearded man from Sparta (LSA 2297). In personal style they recall images of thinkers of the fifth and fourth century BC, but a long beard is not in itself a sufficient sign of a philosopher. The heavily bearded, fifth-century portrait from Sardis (LSA 318) (Fig. 1.20), for example, was found with fragments of a statue dressed in a chlamys and was clearly a contemporary imperial office-holder not a philosopher. The bust of Eutropius from Ephesus (Fig. 13.3) is a similarly cautionary example: not an ascetic holy man, but a benefactor notable (LSA 690).⁴

One group of portraits has been included among the 'cultural' group even though they have few secure iconographic indicators of profession. This is a series of about ten heads some of which depend on one model and which L'Orange identified as the Neoplatonist Iamblichus.⁵ In this case, the widespread diffusion of the portrait type, and the places where it has been found, may suggest the man commemorated was indeed a man of culture. Seven of the ten heads seem to represent the same man (LSA 79, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, and 894), and an eighth, LSA 114, seems

to be a variation that may also be of the same subject.⁶ One has been reworked into another portrait so it is difficult to assess (LSA 2292), and another, the portrait from Eleusis (LSA 116) (Fig. 7.5), seems to make reference to the model but to represent someone else. Nine of the ten come from the heart of the Greek world (Athens-4, Corinth, Delphi-2, Eleusis, Epidauros), and one comes from Rome (LSA 894). All seem to be later third century in date. Finally, the portrait has an unkempt beard and tall brow—usually with concentric creases that dip over the nose. These features combined suggest the honorand was a much-admired cultural figure.

The LSA database preserves no evidence for any individual outside the imperial family who received more than six honours and no evidence for such men receiving honours in more than three cities. Both the epigraphic and sculptural records do however attest multiple honours on a more modest scale. For example, two senatorial aristocrats in Italy, Q. Flavius Maesius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius of the earlier fourth century and Tannonius Chrysanthius of the third quarter of the fourth century, received respectively six and three honours.⁷ Slightly before our period, the sculptural record offers at least four versions of a single portrait type of an unknown man, the so-called Plotinus.⁸ Such multiple honours correspond to the areas where the men held posts or lived—unlike the more widely dispersed 'Iamblichus' portraits. The precise identity of the individual represented in the core group of these heads must remain uncertain. In my opinion he should have been an important intellectual figure of the later third century but was unlikely to have been the Syrian Iamblichus. E. Harrison suggested Publius Herennius Dexippus, a historian whose role against the Herulians earned him

⁶ There is much dispute about which heads certainly follow the type: see Ch. 7 (Gehn). R. R. R. Smith (pers. comm.) suggests more conservatively that only five heads belong securely to the same type: LSA 79, 112, 113, 115, and 894.

⁷ Statues for Mavortius in Rome (1, LSA 426), Suessa Arunca (1, LSA 1970), and Puteoli (4, LSA 43, 47, 332, 1909); for Tannonius (LSA 45, 1911, 1912).

⁸ Fischer-Bossert (2001: 137–52, figs 1–8).

³ Such portraits also abound in mosaics and painting. Examples are discussed below.

⁴ Both examples are discussed Ch. 1 (Smith).

⁵ L'Orange (1933).

great favour.⁹ While we might imagine a figure with a more far-reaching impact, this identification catches the combination of intellectual and local notable that seems to be implicit in the portrait and its archaeological trace.

CULTURE HEROES OF THE CLASSICAL PAST

The fifty or so late antique portraits of classical or Hellenistic figures include poets, philosophers, playwrights, and orator-leaders. The most popular were Socrates and Menander, who are each known in nine late antique portraits (Figs 21.1 and 21.2).¹⁰ They had also been commonly represented in the earlier, imperial period. The poets are Homer (LSA 216 and 2510) and Pindar (LSA 206 and 602). An unidentified portrait type, the Bornova–Heidelberg type, which features long hair to the shoulders and a fillet, is known in three late antique examples (LSA 236, 766,

2441) and may have been intended to represent an archaic poet—it is similar to the representation of Hesiod on a fourth-century AD mosaic from Trier.¹¹ This group of early poets seems to have inspired two striking 'new' portraits (LSA 375 and LSA 1195) (Fig. 11.3).

Famous philosophers are the best-represented subset. Socrates had been one of the most popular of all cultural figures in the high imperial period, and he remained so in the late antique period. In addition to Socrates, for whom nine portraits are preserved (see n. 10), there are secure late antique attestations of Pythagoras (LSA 210), Plato (LSA 710, 712, 908, and 2537), Aristotle (LSA 214), Carneades (LSA 1710), and Apollonius of Tyana (LSA 211 and 678). An unidentified portrait type (Malibu–Vatican) has one late antique version (LSA 64). It probably also represented a philosopher, since the portrait has long hair over the ears, wears only a himation, and resembles the portrait of Antisthenes.¹²

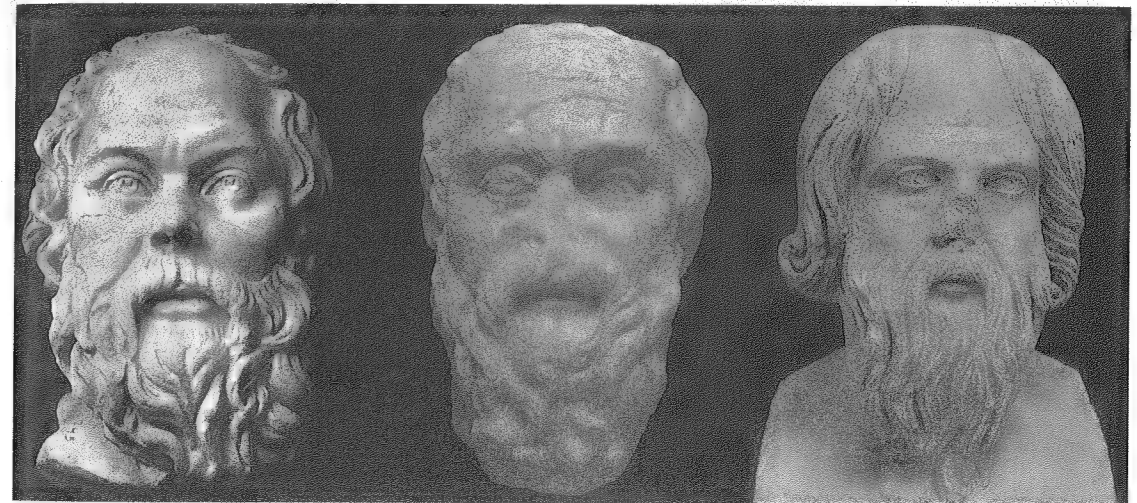


Fig. 21.1 Three late antique versions of Socrates' portrait. (a) From Ephesus, LSA 2107. Selçuk, Ephesus Museum, inv. 745. H: 31 cm. (b) From Civitavecchia, LSA 2633. Civitavecchia, Museo Civico, inv. 76. H: 29 cm. (c) From Welschbillig, LSA 2638. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. 19131. H: 98 cm.

⁹ Harrison (1953: 101–4, no. 10); *PLRE* I, 250–51, Publius Herennius DEXIPPUS 2.

¹⁰ Socrates: LSA 208, 217, 2107, 2439, 2511, 2512, 2632, 2633, and 2638. Menander: LSA 238, 680, 1193, 2106, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2640, and 2829.

¹¹ Richter and Smith (1984: 135, fig. 96).

¹² *POG* II, 179–81, figs 1037–55.

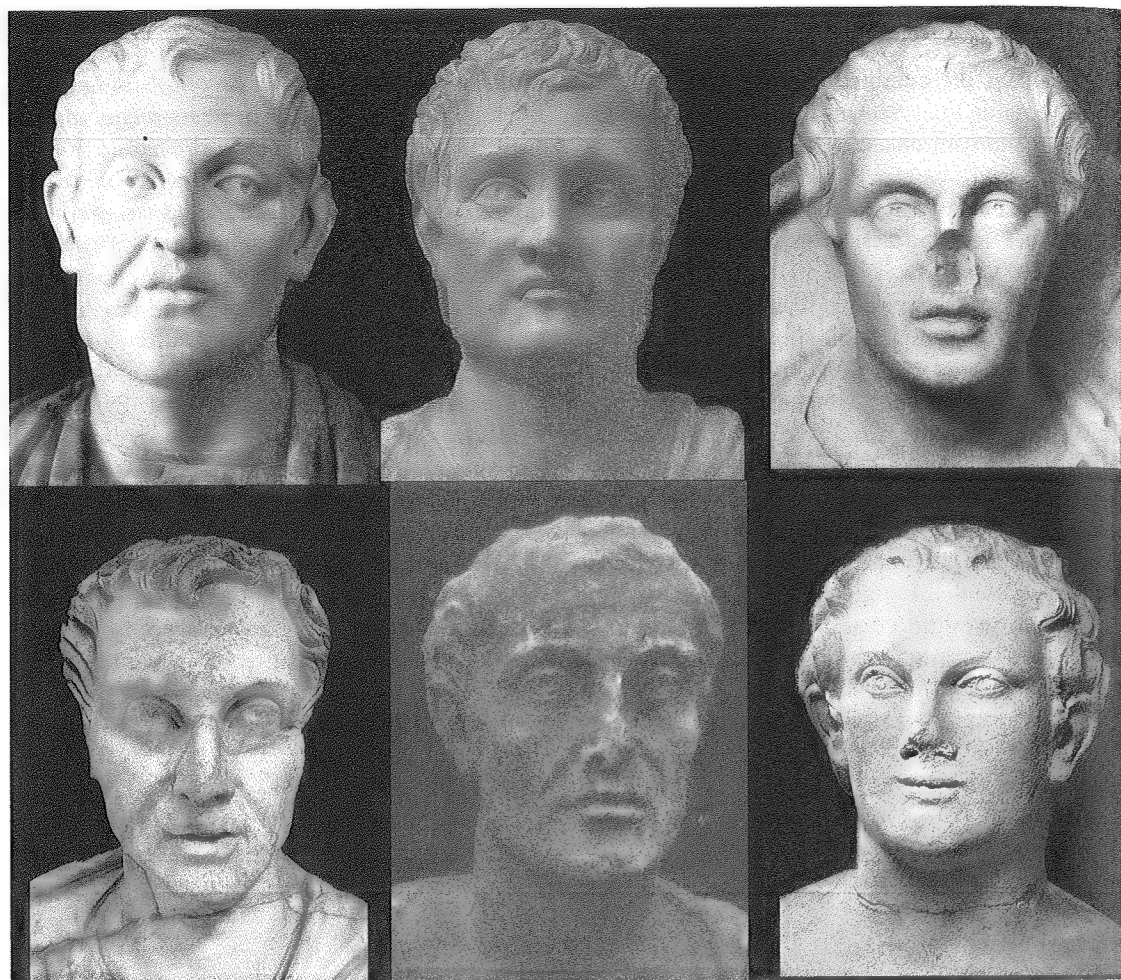


Fig. 21.2 Six late antique versions of Menander's portrait. (a) From Rome, LSA 2106. Musei Capitolini, inv. 566. H: 32 cm. (b) From Italy, LSA 2110. Lost. H: 30 cm. (c) From Rome, LSA 2019. Arthur M. Sackler Art Museum, Harvard University, inv. 1991.63. H: 55 cm. (d) From Ephesus, LSA 680. Selçuk Museum, inv. 755. H: 60.5 cm. (e) From Antioch in Pisidia, LSA 2111. Konya, Museum. H: 50 cm. (f) From Welschbillig, LSA 2640. Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. 19123. H: 98 cm.

Menander, the comic poet, was almost equal to Socrates in popularity in late antiquity. His urbane plays were widely performed in Greek and Latin adaptations, and his well-known portrait type was used for nine late antique versions—three times in Asia Minor (LSA 238, 680, and 2111), four times in Rome (LSA 1193, 2106, 2109, and 2110), and at least once at the imperial palace outside Trier (LSA 2640). Menander had

also been a huge favourite in the high-imperial period.

There was also some late antique interest in classical orator-politicians. Demosthenes (LSA 2440), possibly Aeschines (LSA 2287), and Isocrates (LSA 2442–3) are attested. Whereas the well-known portrait types of Aeschines and especially Demosthenes were commonly reproduced in the high imperial period, Isocrates is

known in only two secure versions in the round, both of which seem to belong at earliest to the late third century.¹³ All three orators are listed by Christodorus as present in the group of statues displayed in the Baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople (discussed further below).¹⁴ The evidence for Isocrates might make us reconsider a double herm in Athens which has been identified as representing Isocrates and Xenophon.¹⁵ The relevant portrait seems plausibly to be a loose version of the Isocrates type, and the date, given as Gallienic on the basis of style, might well be later.¹⁶ The popularity of such 'classic' orators, especially Isocrates, may be explained by the historical prominence of contemporary panegyrists.

The remaining portraits are of generals and historians, whose choice was probably shaped by personal and/or local interests. For example, the charismatic political figures of Alcibiades (LSA 212) and Alexander (LSA 213 and 1641?) are attested in the LSA database, but two of the portraits come from the same private context at Aphrodisias. Local historical associations might similarly explain the 'new' imperial portraits of Hadrian (LSA 1159 and 2118) and Marcus Aurelius (LSA 1133).

The historian and general Xenophon is represented in the double herm with Isocrates, and in a portrait now in the Vatican, which has been most recently published as post-Gallienic.¹⁷ At the imperial villa in Welschbillig, herm portraits have been tentatively identified as both Thucydides and Herodotus. Other portraits of these historians have also been loosely placed between 250 and 270 on the basis of style.¹⁸ They are strong evidence of the difficulty in dating later

Roman versions of classical models. There is little to suggest that such portraits of classic historians would be more appropriate in the later third than in the fourth century. Xenophon, Herodotus, and Thucydides, for example, all had statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople, and all are figured in a fourth-century mosaic from Seleucia in Pamphylia.¹⁹

CONTEXTS AND DISPLAY

The portraits of classical cultural heroes had been a display feature in villas of the elite throughout the Roman period. Cicero had sought appropriately inspiring images for his library; the first-century Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum was decorated with images of classical and Hellenistic thinkers, writers, and leaders; and a significant number of herms of Greek intellectuals were found at the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli.²⁰ This tradition was still alive in the late fifth or early sixth century: Christodorus' description (fifth century) of the statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople is important evidence of it.²¹

The Baths of Zeuxippus, originally built under Septimius Severus, were heavily refurbished by Constantine and destroyed in the Nika riots in 532.²² Malalas, the extant bases for statues of Hecuba and Aeschines, and a colossal sculpted marble fragment all suggest that statuary of different scales, media, and origin was assembled for these Baths.²³ Christodorus describes about eighty statues there, of which nine were divinities and others epic heroes, while thirty-four were historic figures of culture. These thirty-four, listed mainly at the beginning and end of his work, are as follows, with their citation by line

¹³ Richter and Smith (1984: 151–2).

¹⁴ *Greek Anthology* II, ll. 14 (Aeschines), 23 (Demosthenes), 256 (Isocrates).

¹⁵ Minakaran-Hiesgen (1970: 141–6).

¹⁶ Oliver (1972: 327–8) questions identification on dubious grounds.

¹⁷ Danguillier (2001: 260, no. 60).

¹⁸ Herodotus: (1) Naples, from Rome; *POG* I, 146, no. 3, figs 797–9, and (2) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, from Athribis; *POG*, figs 795–6, 800. Thucydides: Athens, National Museum; *POG* I, 149, no. 5, fig. 846.

¹⁹ Blazquez (1986: 237–8, figs 6 and 7).

²⁰ Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, I.5, I.6, I.8, I.9. Herculaneum and Tivoli: Neudecker 1988.

²¹ Christodorus, in *Greek Anthology*, bk II.

²² For interesting discussion of possible groups of statues: Stupperich (1982). For a synthetic approach: Bassett (1996). See also Kaldellis (2007).

²³ Malalas, *Chronicle* 13.8, in Jeffreys et al. (1986: sects 321–2). Extant bases: Bassett (1996: 497–8, figs 3–5). Discussion of media, size, and re-use: Bassett (1996: 498–500).

in parentheses: Aeschines (line 14), Aristotle (17), Demosthenes (23), Euripides (32), Palaephatus (36), Hesiod (38), Polyidus (42), Simonides (45), Anaximenes (50), Sappho (65), Alcibiades (82), Julius Caesar (92), Plato (97), Erinna (108), Terpanther (111), Pericles (117), Pythagoras (121), Stesichorus (125), Democritus (131), Charidemus (241), Isocrates (256), Apuleius (304), Homer (311), Pherecydes (351), Heraclitus (354), Cratinus (357), Menander (361), Thucydides (372), Herodotus (378), Pindar (383), Xenophon (388), Alcmaeon/Alcman (393-7), Pompey (398), Homer of Byzantium (407), and Vergil (415).²⁴

This group is large and inclusive, with many unexpected figures (such as Palaephatus, Polyidus, Terpanther) and a handful of Romans. Stupperich stresses that these figures were suited to the adornment of a traditional gymnasium, and in the same vein Bassett notes that they were designed to promote *paideia*. Stupperich cites the fourth-century mosaic from Seleucia in Pamphylia which shows a similar gallery of cultural heroes:²⁵ classical thinkers were still a crucial part of elite education. The central panel of the Seleucia mosaic shows Homer with personifications of the Iliad and Odyssey, and around this scene are named busts of Pherecydes, Demosthenes, Heraclitus, Hesiod, Lycurgus, Solon, Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, Anaxagoras, and Pythagoras. Their portraits are less based on recognized types than loose interpretations of what such philosophers should look like.²⁶

The LSA database contains excellent examples of this tradition, a group from the Atrium House at Aphrodisias and a group from the imperial palace at Welschbillig, as well as possibly two further groups (from Aphrodisias and Rome). The Atrium House at Aphrodisias, which has plausibly been connected with the Aphrodisian

Asclepiodotus, the father-in-law of the famous Asclepiodotus of Damascus, contained a series of more than ten shield portraits (e.g. LSA 207 Fig. 1.21), one portrait bust of a contemporary intellectual (LSA 203, Fig. 12.9), and a portrait statue of a woman in the guise of a Muse (LSA 202).²⁷ Seven of the nine well-published shield portraits are either labelled or readily identifiable: Alexander, Alcibiades, Apollonius of Tyana, Aristotle, Pindar, Pythagoras, and Socrates. Another set of five shield portraits, recorded in Izmir in the early twentieth century, was probably also excavated at Aphrodisias. They represent Pindar (LSA 602), Menander (LSA 238), and the Bornova-Heidelberg figure (LSA 236), as well as a young boy with a *bullā* (LSA 603) and a female divinity (LSA 604).

The villa at Welschbillig was an imperial possession near Trier built in the late fourth century. A series of seventy herms was excavated there that depict a wide range of past, present, and immortal figures.²⁸ Among them, some classic culture heroes can be tentatively identified: Socrates (LSA 2638), Demosthenes, Thucydides, Philip II of Macedon, Menander (LSA 2640), and Polydeuces (pupil of Herodes Atticus) (LSA 2639).²⁹ This group also includes portraits of two Roman emperors, Vespasian (LSA 2637) and perhaps Antoninus Pius, which should be understood as political icons of the past.³⁰

A now widely dispersed group of six shield portraits seem all to have come from Rome and to have been found in the early eighteenth century (Fig. 21.3). They are generally of the same scale (c. 50 cm in diameter), and all but one (the background of which is not preserved) share a striking motif—a scroll behind the subject's left shoulder. Their varied identities correspond well with those represented in late antique cycles elsewhere. They include a Demosthenes (whose



Fig. 21.3 Group of six shield portraits from Rome, with scrolls in background (restorations edited out). (a) Villa Albani, LSA 2511, H: 56 cm. (b) and (c) Villa Doria Pamphili, LSA 2287 and 2440, H: 50 and 53 cm. (d) Heidelberg, Archaeological Institute of the University, LSA 2441, H: 43.5 cm. (e) Boston, Arthur M. Sackler Art Museum, Harvard University, inv. 1991.63, LSA 2109, H: 55 cm. (f) Surrey, Doughty House, H: 49 cm.

name is inscribed on the scroll, LSA 2440), and a pendant, which does not preserve the scroll but loosely recalls the portrait of Aeschines (LSA 2287). Both of these shield portraits, now in the Doria Pamphili collection, can be traced to inventory lists of 1709. A third shield portrait (LSA 2441) is of the Bornova-Heidelberg type; it was purchased in the 1880s in Rome. A fourth shield portrait, of Socrates, is in the Villa Albani (LSA 2511). A fifth, of Menander, now in Boston, was purchased in Rome in 1776 (LSA 2109). A sixth shield portrait lacks its original head but features the scroll and a bare chest with a

himation over the left shoulder; it was purchased by Sir Francis Cook in the 1850s.³¹

Three other late antique heads, a Plato (LSA 712), a Socrates (LSA 2512), and a Menander (LSA 2106), are all from Rome or its environs. They share a distorted rendering of physiognomy and large, deeply hollowed pupils, and

²⁴ Kaldellis suggests that the last three—Pompey, Homer of Byzantium, and Vergil—may be literary conceits.

²⁵ Stupperich (1982: 231, n. 61). The mosaic: above, n. 19.

²⁶ This kind of invention had been used routinely in the imperial period for representations of the Seven Wise Men: Richter and Smith (1984: 196–8).

²⁷ Smith (1990).

²⁸ Wrede (1972).

²⁹ Demosthenes: Wrede (1972: herm 23, pl. 4.1). Thucydides: Wrede (1972: herm 39, pl. 3.1). Philip: Wrede (1972: herm 24, pl. 7.2).

³⁰ Antoninus Pius: Wrede (1972: herm 21, pl. 18).

³¹ Strong (1908: 3, fig. 7, and 27, no. 39). Cook purchased antiquities for his two homes, Doughty House in Richmond and Monseratte Palace in Sintra, Portugal. His purchases were made in Italy, at auctions, and from other European collections.

it is possible they came from the same context. It is also possible that the similar structure of two busts from Rome representing Menander (LSA 2110) and the Bornova-Heidelberg type (LSA 766) indicates that they came from the same place.³²

STYLE

The portraits of cultural figures briefly assembled here exhibit two significant late antique stylistic trends. Firstly, the eyes often have the same emphasis and are handled in the same technical manner as those of portraits of contemporary notables and office-holders. Secondly, makers and buyers felt less need for the careful replication of portrait types that had prevailed earlier. Recognition was still an aim, but greater liberties were taken. The varied late antique reception and modulation of the Socrates and Menander portraits illustrate this well (Figs 21.1 and 21.2). At Ephesus, the Socrates is a close version of the Socrates Type B portrait, though the hair is rendered with virtuoso drill work. It stands apart, however, from the best versions of the imperial period in the animation provided by the open mouth and emphatic pupils,³³ and it stands apart from other late antique, mainly western

Socrates versions, in its clear adherence to the Type B model. The late antique Menander, also from Ephesus, shows a different approach. It is only a loose version of the original model. It has enlarged eyes, a longer face, an open mouth, and only an approximate rendering of the hair of the original type. What is striking in this portrait is the mannered elongation of the physiognomy. In both cases, the portraits are executed on to a high technical level.

CONCLUSION

New portraits of important intellectuals, both past and present, were erected in late antiquity. Their mainly private contexts and functions were broadly the same as they had been under the early empire. They belonged, as before, to the world of the educated elite, and remained mostly neutral in religious terms: the imperial ownership of the villa at Welschbillig make this secular aspect clear. The evidence suggests that these portraits, always fewer in number, continued to be made and reinvented alongside the portraits of governors and notables into the fifth and perhaps even the sixth century.

Two novel aspects of this genre should be emphasized. First, new portraits were made without specific adherence to established types by assembling remembered elements of an old vocabulary—for example, LSA 207 and 2545. Secondly, those portraits that remained based on well-known types deployed them with great flexibility and introduced new late antique modulations, emphatic eyes, and contemporary ideas of physiognomical expressiveness. Although the result is often distorted, it is striking how the portraits can remain immediately recognizable.

³² A group of at least four herm portraits from Lepcis Magna, which LSA could not include, shows full-bearded men with full, curly hair, wearing a himation on the left shoulder and nothing else. All appear to be recut and to have stylistic details typical of the late antique period. As in the Seleucia mosaic, the portraits were intended to represent different philosophers but follow no specific types. Photographs of the four herms can be found on the Lepcis Magna section of the web page of Araldo de Luca, pp. 7–8, cods. 24050–24057 = <http://www.araldodeluca.com>

³³ Compare e.g. the fine version of type B in the Capitoline (= POG I, figs 484–6), in which eyes are unmarked.

CHAPTER 22

Re-use in fourth-century portrait statues

Julia Lenaghan

The portrait statuary of the fourth century has long represented a challenge for the modern scholar. The lack of dated and identifiable imperial portraits and the considerable re-use of older material make it difficult to assess private portraits by comparison to a series of dated imperial images. Fourth-century portraits have been mainly organized around two sets of dated images: portraits of Constantine and portraits of courtiers on the obelisk base of Theodosius. Material collected and studied for the LSA database, however, now gives us a body of no fewer than seventeen externally dated portraits and statues of this period. This chapter presents these monuments briefly, and then discusses their interesting implications more fully.

C. AD 303

1. Togate portrait statue of Caius Valerius Vibianus *signo* Obsequius, governor of Tripolitania, with inscribed base (Fig. 22.1 and 16.10). From the Severan Forum (Fig. 16.11), Lepcis Magna. LSA 2178 (base) and 2136 (statue with head).¹

The re-used statue was found together with the base. It represents an elderly man in a traditional toga and tunic, in a standard pose for togate statues. His weight rests over his right leg (next

to which there was once a support), and his left arm is extended forward. The toga has a *sinus* which reaches to the knee and an *umbo* that is low and centrally located on the abdomen. The sleeve of the tunic on the right arm has been given unusual folds that follow the projection of the arm.

The head follows the action of the extended left arm. He has short receding hair that comes forward onto the brow, and a short beard. His physiognomy is marked by large eyes, a broad and downturned mouth with a small chin, and by signs of age; there are deep naso-labial folds and loose skin below the chin. The head was recut from an earlier portrait. Its hair has been worked down to a flat raised cap, though traces of some locks seem to remain at the top. The fringe and the facial hair have been engraved into the surface with long strokes of a flat chisel. The irises are engraved and larger than semi-circular; the pupils are U-shaped.

AD 317–337

2. Portrait statue of Constantine I in armour, inscribed on plinth. From the Quirinal Hill, Rome. LSA 555 (Fig. 22.2).

3. Portrait statue of Constantine II in armour, inscribed on plinth. From the Quirinal Hill, Rome. LSA 559 (Fig. 22.2).

The two statues were found in the area of the Baths of Constantine in Rome and were clearly a pair. The inscriptions on the plinths are for a

¹ Above, Ch. 16 (Bigi and Tantillo).

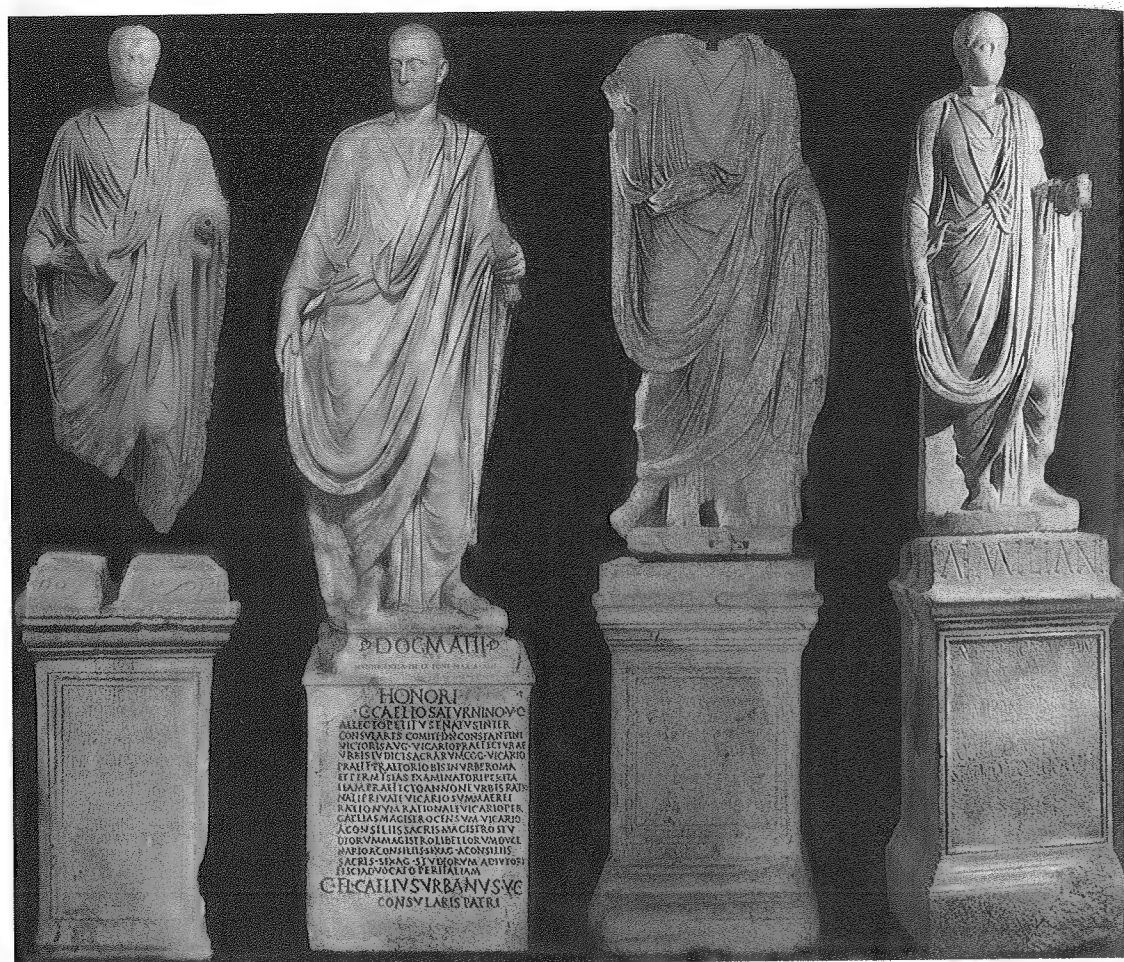


Fig. 22.1 Four identified and externally dated statue monuments of fourth century. (a) C. Valerius Vibianus *signo* Obsequius. From Leptis Magna. c.303, LSA 2136 and 2178. H: 300 cm. (b) C. Caelius Saturninus *signo* Dogmatius. From Rome. 324–37, LSA 903 and 1266. H: 313 cm. (c) Q. Fl. Maesius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius. From Puteoli. 337–42, LSA 43, 44. H: 338 cm. (d) Virius Audentius Aemilianus. From Puteoli. 365–79, LSA 41, 46. H: 322 cm.

Constantine as Augustus and a Constantine as Caesar. The find locations, the recutting of the heads and plinths, the placement of the inscriptions, the nominative texts, and style of the lettering are the same, and indicate that the statues were erected together as pendants. Because one is called Augustus, the other Caesar, they most easily refer to Constantine I and his son Constantine II. They could have been set up at any time between 317, the birth year of Constantine

II, who was made Caesar almost at once, and 337, when Constantine I died.

The statues wear the *corona civica*, military cuirass with *paludamentum*, and baldric with scabbard. The rather awkwardly carved and block-like figures, with unusually tall tree-trunk supports and spears or sceptres worked in marble (already a late conception), indicate that these statues were probably made in the later third century. The heads have clearly been recut, to

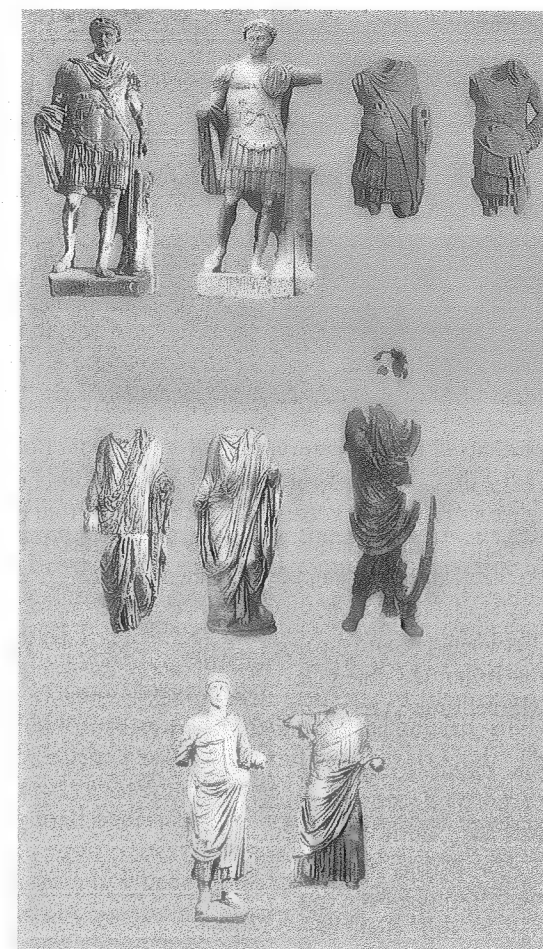


Fig. 22.2 Externally dated imperial statues of the fourth century. Top row: (a) and (b) Constantine and Constantine II, Rome, 317–37, Rome, LSA 555 and 559. (c) and (d) Constans and Constantius, 340–50, Ephesus, LSA 1122, 1123. Middle row: (e) and (f) Julian and Valens 361–4, Aphrodisias, LSA 750, 196, (g) Valentinian or Valens, 365–7, Rome, LSA 580 and 1072. Bottom row: (h) and (i) Valentinian II and Arcadius, Aphrodisias, 388–92, LSA 163, 165.

show clean-shaven faces and short fringes, details of the personal style of the Constantinian dynasty. Their plinths have been reshaped for their new setting, and identifying labels have been inscribed on their plinths.

AD 312–350

4. Togate portrait statue of proconsul with inscribed base. From Temple of Apollo, Bulla

Regia. Fourth century. LSA 1130 (statue) and 1184 (base).

The portrait statue, worked in one piece from plinth to head, was found broken in front of its base. The base, which lacks its upper plinth and the upper lines of the inscription, bears a dedication by the *ordo* of the city of Bulla Regia to a patron who was a *vir clarissimus* and twice governor. The wording of the inscription is exactly that used on two other bases from the same

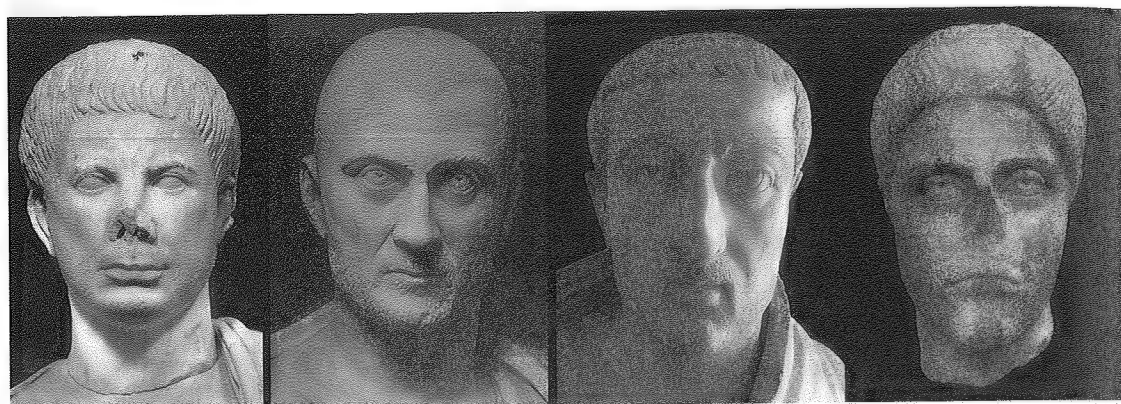


Fig. 22.3 Non-imperial male portraits of fourth century. (a) Governor. From Bulla Regia. 312–50, LSA 1130. Tunis, Musée du Bardo, inv. C 1019. (b) C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius. From Rome. 324–37, LSA 903, 1266. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10493–4. (c) Cethegus. From Rome. c.370, LSA 879. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, inv. 700. (d) Virius Audentius Aemilianus. From Puteoli. 365–79, LSA 46. Baia, Castello di Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, inv. 320474.

context which can be dated between 320 and 340. Those bases are for Ceionius Iulianus (326–33), LSA 2537, and Antonius Marcellinus (320–40), LSA 2538.

At first glance the statue seems to belong entirely to the first century AD. The figure wears *calcei patricii* and a full Roman toga, with a large, centrally located *umbo* and a *sinus* that touches above the knee. There is little difference between the conception of this figure and that, for example, of the Augustus from via Labicana.² A set of scrolls functions as a support next to the left, weight-bearing leg. The hair is lank, and the face full.

Only close inspection shows that the head (Fig. 22.3) has been reworked. A beard has been lightly pecked into the surface of the face, and the fringe shows longer, flatter locks than might have been expected on a portrait of the early imperial period. These features would be more marked if their colour were preserved. Both the hair and the face have been subtly reworked for the statue's new fourth-century subject.

² Goette (1990: 130, no. Bb 7, pl. 14.3). Goette places the Bulla Regia statue in the Trajanic period. He was, however, probably influenced by the portrait whose full recutting he did not consider.

AD 324–325

5. Togate statue of Caius Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius, with inscribed base (Fig. 22.1). From Piazza della Pilotta, Rome. LSA 903 (statue) and 1266 (base).

The inscribed base was found with the statue on the western slope of the Quirinal hill, in what was probably the house of the honorand. The base, set up by his son, gives the honorand's name and long career.³ He was an equestrian with a long financial career who was elevated to senatorial rank. His career began under the tetrarchs and continued through the Constantinian period.

The base calls Saturninus 'comes of our lord Augustus Constantine the Victor'. Constantine was thus alive when the statue was erected, and had already assumed the title victor. The monument can be confidently dated between 324 and 337. It can probably be placed more specifically, in c.324, because it does not mention Saturninus' post of praetorian prefect, which he held between 325 and 335.

³ See also LSA 1412 and PLRE I, 806, C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius.

The statue's toga has a full *lacinia* which touches the ground, a small *umbo*, and a broad *sinus* that reaches the knee. The weight is on the right leg, and a set of scrolls supports the figure. The feet wear the closed soft shoe of equestrian rank.⁴ The general construction of the figure compares well to Antonine togati: for example, the togate figures in the Aurelian *profectio* relief on the Arch of Constantine or of Marcus Aurelius on his column in Rome.⁵ The moulded plinth also suggests a date in the mid- to later second century.⁶

The re-used statue was given a separately worked head with an emphatic look (Figs 22.3 and 23.5). It has a short-cropped hairstyle and beard, both composed of the same short, slightly C-shaped locks. The hair comes to a distinct point in the centre of the brow. The projecting eyebrows meet at the nose. The open eyes have large, heavy, crescent-shaped pupils, and lines parallel to the lower lid to give them further emphasis. The mouth is broad and downturned. It is a strong portrait that in comparison to earlier portraits might be described as inorganic and rigid.

AD 337–342

6 and 7. Two headless togate statues of Q. Flavius Maesius Lollianus signo Mavortius, with inscribed bases (Fig. 22.1). From Puteoli. LSA 43 (base), 44 (statue), 1124 (statue), and 1909 (base).

Q. Flavius Maesius Lollianus signo Mavortius received statues in Rome, Suessa Arunca, and Puteoli.⁷ Four different regions of the city of Puteoli set up statues for him as its patron. All four of the Puteoli bases are extant and can be

dated by the *cursus honorum* which they provide. Lollianus' proconsulship of Africa in 336–7 is listed on all his bases, but not his prefecture of the city of Rome in 342. On two occasions (on LSA 1704 and 1885) the bases were excavated together with togate statues that belong to them, and one of the statues once had a head. The bases and the statues were still together and visible in 1941; in 1969 neither the head nor the second statue were visible, though both were said to be in the Antiquario at Pozzuoli.⁸ In 2008 R. Marchesini wrote that the head was destroyed.⁹

The extant and published statue (found in 1704) was made separately from its head, for which there is a socket. The figure stands with the weight on its left leg and has a *capsa* as a support against that leg. It wears senatorial *calcei*. The togate body was not recut, and Goette dates its manufacture in the Flavian period.¹⁰ Although there are few securely dated parallels, the rich carving of the folds and the diversity of the fold patterns indeed suggest a date after the Julio-Claudian period. The unpublished head was described by H. Fuhrmann as stylistically different from Saturninus, and considered by some not to belong to the statue or to be modern.¹¹

A second statue for the same Lollianus was found, with a base dedicated by 'the region of the slope of the glass-makers and street of the incense-traders' (LSA 1909). The base again dates the monument between the years 337 and 342. The togate statue, which has not been published and may be lost, was said also to wear *calcei patricii*, to stand in the same manner (left leg advanced), and also to have been worked with head and arms separate from the body.

⁴ This is the only example of a re-used statue with equestrian shoes, and it is for a man who was an equestrian for most of his career.

⁵ *Profectio* relief and scene from Column of Marcus: Goette (1990: 137, nos Bb 127 and Bb 128, pls 124.3 and 124.4).

⁶ Smith et al. (2006: 28, with cat. nos 5, 47, 49, 71, 94, 96, and 97).

⁷ LSA 43, 44, 47, 332, 1426, and 1970; PLRE I, 512–13, Lollianus 5.

⁸ Fuhrmann (1941: 614–15) saw both statues, the head, and both bases together. Blanck (1969: 35, n. 35) records that the head was unpublished, but that D. Mustilli informed him that it was in the Antiquario of Pozzuoli.

⁹ Zevi et al. (2008: 152).

¹⁰ Goette (1990: 129, no. Ba 321). A date in the early 2nd c. might be also sustainable: see a relief in the Capitoline (Goette 1990: 133–4, Bb 63, pl. 20.1) and the figure of Trajan on the Arch of Benevento.

¹¹ Fuhrmann (1941: col. 615).

AD 340-350

8. Cuirassed statue of Constans, with inscribed base. From Upper Agora, Ephesus (Figs 13.5 and 13.12). LSA 739 (base) and 1122 (statue).

9. Cuirassed statue of Constantius II, with inscribed base. From Upper Agora, Ephesus (Figs 13.6 and 13.11). LSA 1123 (statue) and 2079 (base).

In the upper agora at Ephesus, L. Caelius Montius, the governor of Asia, renovated a nymphaeum and set up two pendant statues of the emperors Constans and Constantius II. Montius was governor not before 340, and Constans was executed in 350.

The statues, which are preserved from the knees to the shoulders, wear a cuirass and *paludamentum*. One wears the cloak around the neck and diagonally over the left side of the body; the cloak of the other perches in a bunch over the left shoulder and is then wound around the left arm. These statues were clearly made by different workshops and possibly at different dates.¹² The shape of the lower edge of the cuirass and the length of the first tier of lappets, the material and form of the belts, and the size and final decoration of the shoulder straps are distinctly different in each case.¹³ It is clear, however, that the statues were chosen to function visually as a pair. They stand in mirror reverse stances (both legs and arms), and they both wear a Hellenistic-style cuirass with two rows of lappets over the skirt and no *ptyerges*. Both statues had new heads added in deep neck sockets. The heads have not been found.

AD 361-363

10. Togate statue of Julian, with inscribed base, later reinscribed for a Theodosius. From

¹² Vermeule (1959-61: 62, nos 240 and 241) places them no earlier than the 2nd half of the 2nd c., and lists them as 'Antonine Hellenistic' style. Stemmer (1978: 172, nos 192 and 193) lists the statues but does not discuss them.

¹³ The published height of the statues is also surprisingly different. Both are preserved from the upper knee to the shoulders, but LSA 1122 is recorded as H: 1.60 m and LSA 1123 as H: 1.34 m.

Tetrastoon, Aphrodisias. LSA 197 (base) and 750 (statue) (Fig. 22.2).

At Aphrodisias, two small togate statues were re-used to honour Julian and Valens in a public square in front of the theatre; both statues and both bases were excavated. The composite bases can be reconstructed from their component pieces and the statues attributed to the bases. Only one reworked imperial head remains. The monument for Julian consists of the following elements, all re-used: a column base; a tall cylindrical element; a third architectural element used as the upper moulding; a small togate statue of the first or second century with *calcei patricii*; and a clean-shaven, youthful portrait with cuttings for a diadem. The head, attached in a shallow socket, was originally a Julio-Claudian portrait which has been sensitively recut.

C. AD 364

11. Togate statue of Valens, with inscribed base. From Tetrastoon, Aphrodisias. LSA 196 (statue) (Fig. 22.2) and 223 (base).

The base for Valens (364-78) was set up by the same governor, Antonius Tatianus, who erected the statue for Julian, and probably at Valens' accession. It consists of a re-used rectangular base which bears an earlier honorific inscription on its back and a re-used crown moulding (from a different, smaller base) which in its former use carried a bronze statue.

The second of the two re-used togate statues may be attributed to this base. It is a very high-quality and richly carved Antonine togatus wearing *calcei patricii*, and was originally intended for a boy or young man, so probably in origin too an imperial figure. Its separately worked head was set into a deep socket between the shoulders.

AD 364-367

12. Fragmentary gilded bronze togate statue of Valens or Valentinian, with associated base. From Ponte Sisto, Rome. LSA 580 (head), 1072 (statue), and 1820 (base).

At the modern Ponte Sisto, where an ancient bridge had been renovated in the fourth century by Valentinian and his brother Valens, were found fragments of more than one gilded bronze statue, and one badly damaged gilded bronze portrait (Fig. 10.9) which wears a diadem and is therefore an emperor. Two bases for Victories and a base for Valens were also found. A base for Valentinian may be inferred, since he is referred to in the extant inscription for Valens.¹⁴ Although the precise allocation of head to statue and statue to base cannot be made, it is clear that there were probably two gilded bronze statues of the brothers Valentinian and Valens on large bases which supported tall columns.¹⁵ The base makes no mention of Gratian, the nephew of Valens, who became a co-emperor in 367, and thus should date between 364 and 367.

The fragmentary surviving statue wears an early imperial form of toga with *calcei patricii*, and makes an empty-handed gesture with its right hand (Fig. 22.2). The toga resembles those worn by Trajan on the Arch of Beneventum, and the bronze statue may then be a re-used monument of the early second century. The preserved head wears a diadem which has an upper and lower pearl-edged border. The fringe arches across a smooth brow in full short locks. The eyes are marked with almost circular irises and crescent-shaped pupils, and are given further emphasis by high-arching upper lids and projecting eyebrows.

AD 350-370

13. Inscribed togate bust of Cethegus. From Rome. LSA 879.

¹⁴ For Victories: *CIL* VI 31403-4. Ex-votos: *CIL* VI 31405-8.

¹⁵ Lanciani (1878) reconstructed an arch with semi-engaged columns and bronze statues in the Attic. All commentators since Lanciani have discussed an arch at the bridge. To this author, it seems more likely, given the base, column, and balustrade, that the bridge had column monuments on its Campus Martius side. Similar column monuments are still preserved for Septimius Severus and his family on the bridge over the river Chabinas in Commagene. I thank Francesca Bigi for bringing this example to my attention.

The bust consists of three separate elements: head, bust, and supporting foot. The portrait head, which has been reworked from an earlier portrait, shows a clean-shaven, short-haired man (Fig. 22.3). The enlarged eyes are marked in a manner that dates the head unmistakably to the fourth century. An irregular engraved line defines the deep-U-shaped iris, which is approximately three-quarters of a circle, and a thicker semi-circular line marks the pupil.

The portrait head has been adjusted to fit the bust, which, on the basis of size and costume, should belong no earlier than the late second or early third century. The bust wears a toga with a broad *balteus* that seems to be a forerunner to the *toga contabulata*; Goette calls it a 'collar (Kragen) contabulata'.¹⁶ There are three other examples of exactly the same bust type, one of which carries a head that dates it to the Severan period, and there is a variation which carries a portrait head of Septimius Severus.¹⁷

This bust is supported by a separately worked cylindrical foot with an inscribed *tabula*. The inscription is a dedication by one *Furius Maechius Gracchus* to his father, *Cethegus*.¹⁸ Both son (*corrector Flaminiae et Piceni* in 350-52, possibly *Praefectus Urbis Romae* in 376-7) and father are known. The father is named on a slave collar¹⁹ and, more importantly, in a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus that discusses the events in Rome after 368. Ammianus (28.1.16), describing the decadent state of the city and its

¹⁶ Goette (1990: 152, L 74, pl. 57.2).

¹⁷ Three examples of same type: Goette (1990: 152, L 72, L 73, and L 75, pls 56.4, 57.1, and 57.3). Example with head: Goette (1990: L 72, pl. 56.4) (Rome, Museo nazionale, inv. 65175). Note also that Goette 1990: L 73 (Uffizi, inv. 1914, n. 357) has a clean-shaven portrait with short-cropped hair. It would seem also to be of 4th-c. date, but the relationship of the head and bust is unclear (Goette says decidedly they do not belong together). Variation of bust type, with portrait of Septimius Severus, in Louvre (MA 1118): Goette (1990: 152, L 71, pl. 56.3).

¹⁸ Inscription, *CIL* VI 1709=31907: *Cethego v(iro) c(larissimo) patri F(urii) Maechius Gracchus v(ir) c(larissimus)*, 'For Cethegus, a man of *clarissimus* rank, his father, *Furius Maechius Gracchus*, a man of *clarissimus* rank [set this up]'. Son: *PLRE* I, 400 *Gracchus* 3. Father: *PLRE* I, 199-200, *Cethegus*.

¹⁹ *AE* 1946: 211.

officials, dwells upon what occurred in 368 and immediately thereafter, when the prefect of the city Olybrius was sick and Maximus, prefect of grain supply, was in charge of the administration of justice (or rather its miscarriage). As an example of a bad sentence, Ammianus cites the execution of Cethegus for adultery.

H. Stuart Jones, who was the first to publish the monument fully, noted that the bust and foot were of different date. H. Von Heintze in 1967 wrote that the head and bust went together but not the *tabula*.²⁰ M. Bergmann noted that all three elements were of different periods, and dated the portrait to the Constantinian period.²¹ C. Parisi Presicce placed it in the period 300–320.²² P. Zanker has most recently presented a conflicting set of opinions about which elements go together, and again asserts a Constantinian date.²³ The main point of interest, however, lies not in the observation that the elements did not originally go together but in the assessment of when they might first have been put together.

The valuable research of M. G. Picozzi concerning the collection history of this bust has to be given proper consideration.²⁴ Picozzi traced the bust to the collection of Ippolito Vitelleschi (d. 1654),²⁵ and points out that it is almost certainly to be associated with a bust of Cethegus seen by Jodocus Hondius (Joost de Hondt,

1563–1612) in the villa of Julius III. According to Rodolfo Lanciani in his discussion of this villa, 'la descrizione di Iodoco Hondio abbonda di particolari. Il visitatore incontra dapprima *vim magnam virorum illustrium* chiamati alla buona Hirtio, Pansa, Cicerone, Cetego'.²⁶ Thus, it seems that Vitelleschi acquired the bust from the collection of Julius III (Pope, 1550–55) and not from his own property around the Horti Sallustiani. Most important for the discussion here, the fact that Hondius already records an ancient sculpture associated with the name of Cethegus means that the bust as a unit can be traced back to the collection of Julius III.

It seems highly unlikely that a sixteenth-century restorer would have created a pastiche in which the head and foot were contemporary and the togate body was of a form appropriate to the rank of the man named on the foot. It is easier to assume that this is a carefully worked, late antique assemblage. This has an important consequence: it provides us with a dated private portrait of the third quarter of the fourth century. The portrait, dedicated by a son to his father, should belong before or just after the death of the father, Cethegus, which occurred in c. 370.

AD 364–378

14. Togate statue of Virius Audentius Aemilianus, with its inscribed base (Fig. 22.1). From Puteoli. LSA 41 (base) and 46 (statue).

A re-used statue worked in one piece of marble from plinth to head was excavated in 1955, together with its base, in the monumental forum area of Puteoli. The base was erected by the people of Puteoli for a patron and a governor of Campania named Virius Audentius Aemilianus. He is well recorded in the epigraphic record in both Campania and northern Africa, where he was governor in the period when Gratian was senior emperor, 379–83. His post in Campania dates before this and after 364.

²⁶ Lanciani (1907: 23).

²⁰ In Helbig II, 217–18, no. 1411.

²¹ M. Bergmann in Ensoli and La Rocca (2000: 540–41, no. 187). M. Bergmann in Donati and Gentili (2005: 163) calls it a Constantinian portrait in a discussion of private portraits that do not relate to imperial models.

²² C. Parisi Presicce in Demandt and Engemann (2007: no. I.15.29).

²³ Fittschen et al. (2010: 178–9, no. 177).

²⁴ On its sale with 6 other busts: Picozzi (1989–90). For an inventory history of the object back to Julius II: Picozzi (1993: 74–5, figs 10 and 11, n. 80).

²⁵ It passed to his daughter Sulpizia Vitelleschi Tasso, and then to her adopted son Leone Veropsi Vitelleschi. It is recorded in the family collection in 1685 as 'un busto di un Cesare di Gracchi'. In 1701 it is recorded in the inventory as 'testa e busto antico vestito con lettere nel pieduccio' and again in 1726 as 'busto ammantato con lettere nel pieduccio'. It was purchased by Cardinal Alessandro Albani in 1726 along with 20 herms of philosophers and 5 other busts. Albani sold the collection to Pope Clemente XII in December of 1733 and thence it arrived in the Capitoline collection.

The statue is a re-used mid-imperial togatus wearing *calcei patricii*. Its stance, toga design, and tabula-box support are similar to those of the Aphrodisias statue of Valens and in some respects to those of Saturninus' statue.

The portrait head has been recut (Fig. 22.3).²⁷ The hair of the original portrait was fuller, fell further down the nape of the neck, and probably covered the tops of the ears, which now have an abbreviated and awkward upper edge. Part of an original lock, running from the right ear into the adjacent cheek, is still preserved. The eyebrows have been engraved into the original orbital ridge, and the pupils have been enlarged. The beard has been carved into the surface of the face, and the downturned mouth has been curiously remodelled—it seems to lack an upper lip.

The statue body may also have been adjusted—the right hand, for example, seems awkwardly carved. On the bottom edge of the toga at the right heel are two letters which appear to read 'V F'.²⁸ They might refer to the workshop which made or recycled the statue.

AD 385

15. Headless draped statue of Coelia Concordia. From near Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. LSA 1510 (base) and 1296 (statue).

The headless statue (the current head does not belong) and its base were found in 1591 on the Esquiline, near Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, probably on the property of the dedicator, Fabia Aconia Paulina, and her husband. The inscription on the base dates the monument precisely.

The inscription records that Fabia Aconia Paulina²⁹ put up the statue to Coelia Concordia, a Vestal Virgin, because the Vestal Coelia had put up a statue to Fabia's husband, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, who had died in late 384.³⁰ Symmachus, in a letter to his brother Flavianus (*Letters*,

²⁷ Napoli (1959: 108–9) thinks that head and body were worked at the same time in the 4th c., but this is untenable.

²⁸ Possibly the V is elided with an L and the F with a T, and to be interpreted as *V(a)l(…)f(eci)t*.

²⁹ PLRE I, 675, Fabia Ancona Paulina 4.

³⁰ PLRE I, 722–4, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus 1.

II. 36.2–3), discusses the process surrounding the erection of the statue by the Vestals to Praetextatus in 385.

The re-used statue was of the early or middle imperial period, and has had modern hands, feet, and plinth added, as well as an alien (but ancient) head. It shows a woman dressed in a loose, sleeved undergarment and a heavy outer garment that crosses the waist in a loose roll of fabric and leaves both arms free. Such figures can make gestures often associated with prayer or ritual. This is a dress-scheme ('hip-mantle') that was frequently used for female portraits in the first and second centuries AD. The statue of Coelia, however, also wears a large circular medallion which once featured inset coloured stones. It is set between the breasts and hangs from a broad section of material that probably belonged to the *suffibulum*, a veil covering the head commonly worn by priests and priestesses.³¹ The original head seems to have worn *vittae*, religious fillets, the ends of which were visible on the shoulders when the statue was found.

AD 388–392

16 and 17. Two togate statues of Theodosian emperors, with associated inscribed bases. From Hadrianic Baths, Aphrodisias. LSA 163–7 (two bases and two statues).

A portrait statue of a youthful emperor, who wears a pearl diadem and a new late antique form of toga (LSA 163) (Fig. 12.4), was found together with a similarly sized and similarly dressed headless togate statue (LSA 165). They were found in close proximity to two bases (LSA 164 and 166) set up for Arcadius and Valentinian II by the praetorian prefect Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus. They can be dated precisely in the years AD 388–92.

Both statues were newly made for this group, and were worked in one piece with their portrait heads. Both wear a long-sleeved under-tunic, a loose over-tunic, and a new kind of abbreviated

³¹ A *suffibulum* with a similar medallion can be seen on a high-imperial period statue of a Vestal Virgin; Rome, Museo nazionale, inv. no. 639, MNR I.1, 269–70, no. 165.

formal toga whose upper border (*balteus*) sits high on the chest, pulled tight from right armpit to left shoulder, and whose lower border reaches only to the knees. These statues are unlike any of the other dated fourth-century honours listed above in two important respects. They wear a new and distinctive 'late' toga form, and they were carved *ex novo* from newly quarried marble. New costume and new manufacture were, we will see, clearly connected.³²

DISCUSSION

The seventeen statues presented above come from both east and west, and consist of nine imperial figures, seven imperial office-holders, and one woman. They are clearly a sufficient and representative dataset from which some important points can be drawn.

Re-use and costume choice

The most striking aspect to emerge from this body of dated material is that the re-use of old imperial-period statues with adjusted or changed portrait heads was the norm through the fourth century until the Theodosian period (Fig. 22.1). The re-use of old statues was not merely a cost-saving expediency; it was clearly closely related to costume choice. The high volume of imperial-period production had left much statuary available. Unlike the heads, the re-used bodies were little or not at all re-modelled. The traditional costumes of the imperial-period statues clearly retained their currency: statues in unchanged traditional costumes were the desired goal. The meaning of the old costumes had not changed significantly for honorands or viewers of the fourth century. The only new elements were readjusted or changed portrait heads and the inscribed texts, both parts of the definition of the honorand's personal identity.

³² On this connection, see Smith (1999) and in this volume, Ch. 1 (Smith).

Among the seventeen statues, four wear an unchanged military cuirass, ten the traditional Roman toga, and one a traditional female costume. Only the last two, dated AD 388–92, wear a new kind of costume, a distinctive late antique form of toga (Fig. 22.2). It is clear that the traditional citizen toga remained in the fourth century the most appropriate costume for statue honours set up to high-ranking office-holders. As earlier, the cuirass was worn in statues mostly by the emperor, while the toga was suitable for emperors and senators alike. The traditional iconography of the old toga costume remained well understood through the fourth century: it is interesting that the only togate honorand among the seventeen who has the un-strapped equestrian type of footwear is a man whose inscribed base describes a long and distinguished equestrian career and lists only as his last achievement his adlection to the Senate. One might imagine that the statue had been acquired prior to this 'last' promotion.

The first appearance of a new, 'late antique' toga design in dated statues is in the Theodosian group at Aphrodisias, and statues thereafter, in the fifth century, tend to wear either a new-style senatorial toga or the chlamys.³³

Fashion and technique

All of the non-imperial male portraits in the seventeen dated monuments have short beards and wear short hair brushed forward (Fig. 22.3). The beard styles remain close to those of the third century. Among the elite, the clean-shaven style of Constantine seems not to have been immediately or widely embraced. In this respect the fourth-century private portraits are traditional. There was also a new and growing separation between the personal style of the emperor and of the upper class. The emperor's clean-shaven youthful aspect was his, and increasingly less appropriate for office-holders and notables.

³³ As discussed in more detail here, in Ch. 1 (Smith).

The private portraits can have widely different effects that depended on the character of the head out of which the new portrait was cut and on the physiognomy of the new honorand. Changing personal fashion and technical effects in the portraits cannot be used as a secure mode of dating without consideration of the larger context.

The virtually contemporary portraits of Cethegus and Virius Audentius Aemilianus demonstrate the importance of such context. The high-quality portrait of Cethegus was detached from its supporting element, and the sculptor could work easily all around it. The portrait head of Virius Audentius Aemilianus was in one piece with its statue, and the sculptor had to recarve it in a more difficult position. He was probably also confident in the knowledge that these details would be less visible to the viewer on top of a statue and its base than similar details on a bust. The bust would have been viewed at eye level in an indoor setting.

The carving of eyes in this group of portraits is also telling. There can be no doubt that this area of the face had special importance in this period: in the remodelling of earlier heads, eyes and eyebrows nearly always undergo some form of recutting, but again in a wide variety of details (Fig. 22.3). The Bulla Regia portrait has no markings in the eyes but rope-like eyebrows; the irises and pupils of Cethegus are parallel arcs of different widths, and his projecting eyebrows are made of coarse short hairs; the pupils of Aemilianus are large and circular and the eyebrows are made of schematic parallel lines. The pupils of Saturninus, of the Aphrodisian Julian/Theodosius, and of the bronze Valens/Valentinian have more uniformity, in that they are all centrally placed full-crescent shapes. But even in these pieces, the eyebrows vary significantly: for example, the Julian/Theodosius leaves the eyebrow ridges of the first-century portrait untouched.

RELATED PORTRAITS

The seventeen dated monuments allow us to look at other undocumented portraits of the later third

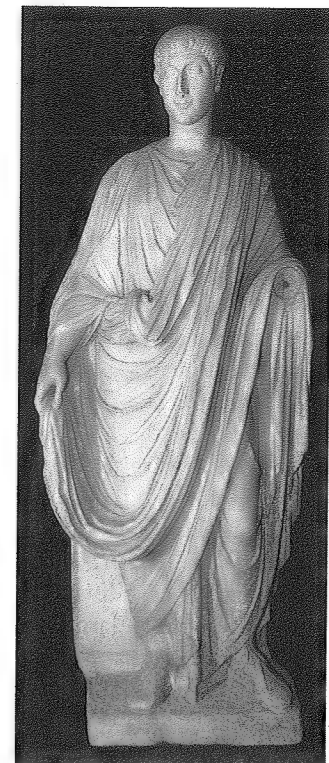


Fig. 22.4 Togate statue, re-used in later fourth century with separately added and reworked head. From Rome, LSA 907. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 247.

and fourth century from a new perspective, and to make firmer assessments of their likely contexts. Some examples follow. A re-used togate statue in the Villa Doria Pamphili (LSA 852) with a separately worked head that bears an expressive clean-shaven portrait was identified by L'Orange as Diocletian.³⁴ There is no strong reason to place it so early; it might as easily belong further into the fourth century. In light of the dated examples, there should be no doubt that the re-used togate statue of a young man found at Via 20 Settembre in Rome (LSA 907, Fig. 22.4) and its thin-faced portrait head belong together, probably in the second half of the

³⁴ L'Orange (1933: 30, 115, no. 27, figs 68 and 71; 1984: 101, pls 14 and 15).

fourth century.³⁵ The head has technical similarities to the bust of Cethegus. Similarly, two heads, a 'tetrarchic'-looking head in Ostia (LSA 1055) and a portrait with a short beard from Lingones (LSA 601), which were disassociated from their statues on grounds of perceived incongruity of style and date, should probably be reconnected with high imperial togate statues. The heads were found with such statues but later separated from them.

Two large portrait busts, one from Arettium (LSA 2102) and one now in Castle Howard (LSA 1553),³⁶ should probably be seen as part of this fourth-century trend, in the bust category. The togate Arettium bust wears its toga in a quasi-contabulate manner close to that worn by Cethegus. Goette considered this development of the toga to be Gallienic.³⁷ The portrait is of a gaunt, clean-shaven man with a widow's peak, flaring eyebrows, and heavy-lidded, large eyes that have U-shaped markings. Bergmann considered the portrait tetrarchic or Constantinian.³⁸ The fourth-century date fits well with the dated portraits presented here.

The large togate bust in Castle Howard (LSA 1553) presents a similar case. It is worked in one piece from cylindrical foot to the top of the head.³⁹ Since it includes a full chest and upper arms, it cannot have been made before the Antonine period. The portrait head has been recut.⁴⁰ It now shows a man with a fringe

³⁵ Constantius Gallus: Stucchi and Calza (1972: 354-6, no. 249, pl. 120, 440-41). 'Subtle style' of late 4th to early 5th c.: L'Orange (1961).

³⁶ Castle Howard: Borg et al. (2005: 119-20, no. 64, pls 65 and 66.2).

³⁷ Goette (1990: 152, no. L 69) sees here a contabulated toga bust of Gallienic date which has had its portrait recut.

³⁸ Bergmann (1977: 151, pls 44.5 and 44.6).

³⁹ Goette (1990: 70, pls 59.1 and 59.2) thinks the bust was recut from a statue of Claudius. This seems unlikely both to B. Borg (n. 36) and to this author: the *umbo* is much too high for the bust to have been part of a 1st-c. statue. It was probably always a bust, and of Antonine date.

⁴⁰ Four distinct signs of recutting: (1) The hair has been cut back. There are traces of longer hair around both ears as well as a drilled out area in front of the upper edge of the left ear. (2) The eyes have been schematically marked. (3) The beard and moustache have been regularly stippled into the face. (4) The head appears too small for the bust.

brushed forward and worked out below to suggest a swelling in volume of the hair around the face. A beard has been lightly stippled onto the face. The eyes have sharp upper lids that arch unnaturally into the brow; the eyeballs are flat and have a lightly engraved iris line and two centrally located drill points for the pupils. The increased volume of the hair at the face suggest less the end of the third century, more the later fourth century.⁴¹

A female portrait statue from Rome also in Castle Howard (LSA 1271) is a final example of such fourth-century composite figures made out of re-used and partly reworked elements. The portrait head is joined evenly at the neck—neither attached by filler nor set into a socket. It seems then probably to have been set on its re-used Hygeia statue body in antiquity. The subject's hairstyle of encircling braids and the emphatic engraving of the eyes—both irises and pupils—are unlikely before the end of the third century, and fit more easily in the fourth century.⁴²

CONCLUSION

This chapter has assembled seventeen portrait statues and busts that can be associated with an inscribed base or other inscribed documentation that allows them to be identified and precisely dated in the fourth century. They form a strong base for detecting more general trends in fourth-century honorific portrait statuary. Until the Theodosian period, it was the norm for new statuary honours to be made of old statues with new or recarved portraits. This normal practice was shaped by a broad-based choice for the traditional costumes worn by the many available old statues. The non-imperial male figures are togate statues and from the west. In the east, himation statues were recycled in the same way and

⁴¹ Cf., e.g. the portrait in Munich Glyptothek, inv. 379: Baumstark (1998: 72-3, no. 1).

⁴² The head compares best to female portraits in Fossombrone (LSA 395) and Berlin (LSA 967), both of the early 4th c.

probably into the fifth century. In both cases, the preference for recycled statues was driven less by expediency or economy (they were by-products of choices made for other reasons) and more by costume choice: old statues were high-quality figures in demand for their 'classical' style and traditional clothing.⁴³ The clear trend or normal practice documented by the dated statues ends in

the Theodosian period, when the earliest examples of the new costumes of power, the long chlamys and the redesigned senatorial toga, appear in dated statues.⁴⁴ In terms of broader statue practice and costume choice, the reign of Constantine was less pivotal than has often been suggested.

⁴³ Further on this aspect and with discussion of recycled himation statues at Aphrodisias, see here Ch. 12 (Smith).

⁴⁴ Exploration and some explanation of this phenomenon are attempted here in Ch. 1 (Smith).

CHAPTER 23

Portrait styles

Marianne Bergmann and Martin Kovacs

In this chapter, we provide a brief overview of different visual choices in late antique male private, i.e. non-imperial, portraiture,¹ its relation to the imperial portrait, and its possible cultural contexts and meanings. Most of the aspects discussed here are treated more extensively in Kovacs (2014).² On many points the authors of this chapter share the same opinion; on some they disagree.

It is impossible to speak about the choice people made when they were portrayed in late antiquity by picking out single and divergent solutions. It is instead essential to place the portraits in their chronological, local, and possibly individual contexts, and to look at their relationship to traditions. Chronology is a major problem; the reasons for this difficulty, however, provide some information about the general character of late antique portraiture. The reasons why it is difficult to date portraits in late antiquity are well known. The main reason is that, based on the portrait of Constantine, a certain type of imperial portrait developed, often beardless, with sleek hair, ageless, and with a calm and distant expression, which became the

main style for imperial portraits until the Byzantine period. Portraits of non-imperial persons did not follow this iconography, but were much more lifelike and had beards and other hairstyles. This phenomenon can be noticed almost immediately after the accession of Constantine. The famous 'period face' (*Zeitgesicht*) of the Roman empire, which imitates the emperor,³ more or less vanishes completely.⁴ It was an artistic concept of the principate, in which the emperor looked like everybody, and everybody could look like the emperor. In late antiquity, however, a categorical difference between the emperor and his subjects is expressed by their portraits. This is in itself the most typical phenomenon of late antique portraiture, illustrated in two famous representations of emperors and surrounding dignitaries: on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople (Figs 23.1 and 23.2) and in the mosaics of San Vitale at Ravenna (Fig. 23.3).⁵ In both cases, figures that stand next to the emperor, and thus clearly represent important persons, are characterized by strongly individualized traits,

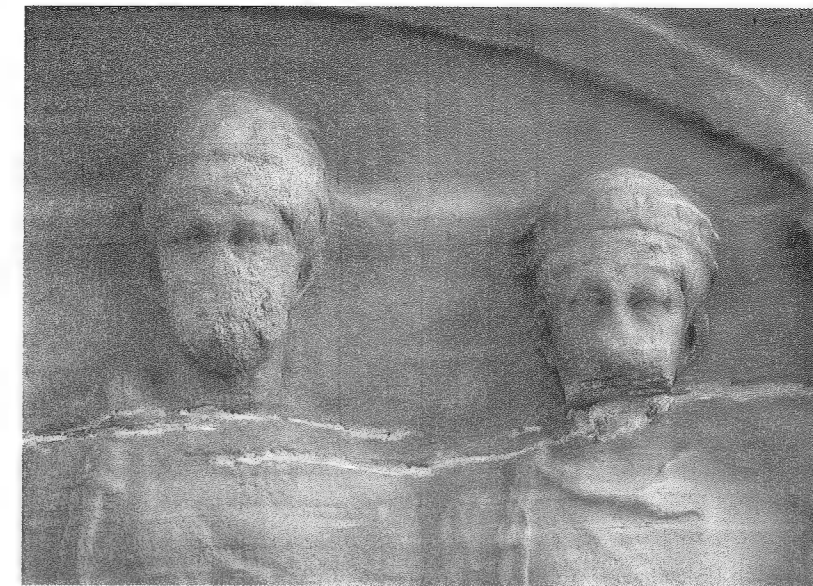


Fig. 23.1 Heads of emperor and prince from northwest side of Obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople. c. 390. Istanbul.



Fig. 23.2 Heads of three men flanking right side of emperor on southeast side of Obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople. c. 390. Istanbul.

been known for some time.⁶ Kovacs shows—and the LSA database also demonstrates—that this is valid almost without exception.

The loss of the 'period face', however, makes it difficult to date portraits accurately, and additional information provided by portraits on dated consular diptychs and related objects is rare.⁷ More difficulties arise through the widespread recarving of earlier portraits in late antiquity,⁸ which produced many hybrid solutions. Furthermore, the archaeologist has to face problems that arise from differing production in the east and the west of the empire, through local traditions as different as those of Aphrodisias and Ephesus,⁹ and especially through the nearly total loss of statuary at Constantinople, which one might expect to have been trendsetting.

whereas the emperor's portraits correspond to the type described above. This new categorical division between imperial and private portraits has

¹ For a definition of the term 'private portrait' as 'non-imperial', see Pittschi (1996: 755–7).

² Based on Kovacs (2014). Earlier literature: L'Orange (1933); Delbrueck (1933); von Sydow (1969); Calza (1972); Severin (1972); Sande (1975); Stichel (1982); L'Orange (1984); Küllerich (1993); Smith (1999); Meischner (2001); Auinger and Aurenhammer (2010).

³ There are already noted exceptions to this trend during the high imperial period: see Smith (1998).

⁴ For *Zeitgesicht*, see Schweitzer (1948: 76); Zanker (1981); Bergmann (1981).

⁵ Theodosian reliefs in Constantinople: Bruns (1935: fig. 81). See also the discussion in Kollwitz (1941: 119–20). Mosaics in San Vitale: Bovini (1956: pl. 32).

⁶ For the disappearance of the 'period face' in the time of Constantine, see already Zanker (1988); Bergmann (2005).

⁷ Delbrueck (1929); Kovacs (2014).

⁸ In detail, Kovacs (2014). On the monograph: Prusac (2011); see the review by Pittschi (2012). Discussed extensively in different contexts in this volume: see esp. Chs 1 (Smith) and 22 (Lenaghan).

⁹ Aphrodisias: Smith (1999). Ephesus: Auinger and Aurenhammer (2010).



Fig. 23.3 Detail of wall mosaic showing heads of Justinian and two men to his left. About 540. San Vitale, Ravenna.

In addition, it seems that in some periods every portrait looks different from the other, whereas in other periods and/or places everything draws together. As there is no strict method to date these portraits accurately, the only way to classify them is to establish iconographic groups, to use some remaining elements or 'fragments' of the 'period face' and the few securely dated representations mentioned above. Furthermore, although re-carved portraits form an important part of the general picture, the coarser portraits and hybrid solutions have to be eliminated if we want to define typical stylizations. With more comprehensive work on the portraits and with the LSA database, which combines portraits in the round with inscriptions, we will arrive at a revised general picture.

We want to discuss four questions and fields:

1. Can we find out how the gap in stylization between the portraits of Constantine and non-imperial portraits arose?
2. What were the options in the Theodosian period, when production in the west and the east of the late antique empire(s) became equally strong for the first time?

3. Can we reconstruct what portraits from Constantinople looked like, and interpret local differences against this background?
4. Finally, we will deal with a number of portraits produced in Greece in the fifth century, where the choices seem extravagant and in need of special explanation.

It is useful to look first at the long-term developments in the history of Roman portraiture in the first three centuries AD. As already mentioned, many portraits more or less imitated those of the emperors, but the emperors themselves chose from contemporary options dependent on changing needs in society.¹⁰ A meaningful history of Roman portraiture in this period can be established by combining both approaches. Briefly put, this development can be described first as a sequence of Republican 'realism' or 'Hellenism' and Julio-Claudian 'classicism', as forms of purposeful stylization. Then (and this is important) with the later portrait types of Nero a long-standing, but still not

¹⁰ For the following, see <http://viamus.uni-goettingen.de/fr/e/uni/d/05> 'Lang- und Kurzzeitrends'.

morally accepted, yearning for elaborate hairstyles and fine beards surfaced. Nero's beard was depicted on coins and must have been painted on marble. These fashions were called luxurious and implied a certain lifestyle, education, and *otium*.¹¹ They continued with the young Flavians, Titus and Domitian and their contemporaries, were current on Trajanic monuments alongside the fashion that imitated Trajan's portrait, and led directly on to Hadrian and from there through the Antonine period into the earlier third century, always expressing aspects like a refined style of living, education, and *otium*.¹² With the changing political situation in the later second century AD, a new style with short hair and stubble beards became fashionable. It did not derive, as often proposed, from a real soldier's fashion,¹³ but conveyed values like austerity, as ancient literary sources inform us.¹⁴ Faces displaying signs of age and strained expressions were preferred, promising an energetic habitus of the depicted individual. This stylization was considered suitable for emperors, who passed their lives defending the threatened borders of the empire into the middle of the third century. It was afterwards taken up, even intensified, by the tetrarchs.¹⁵ These long-term developments were evidently independent of single emperors.

How does Constantine's portrait fit into these different long- and short-term developments (Fig. 23.4)?¹⁶ His youthful and beardless portrait has a classical hairstyle derived from Trajan and/or Augustus. Compared to those of the tetrarchic Augusti,¹⁷ it has a calm expression. A lot of the following elements are found in the portraits of Maxentius in a restrained way (Fig. 10.8):¹⁸ longer

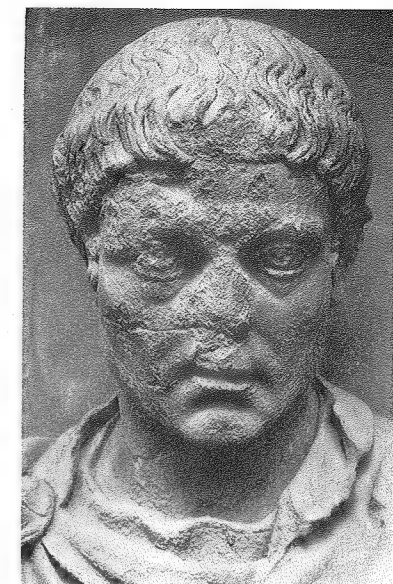


Fig. 23.4 Head of emperor from tondo with boar hunt on Arch of Constantine. c.315. Rome.

hair, a calm expression (although with residual lines in the face), plus a fine beard. Unlike the tetrarchic forms of self-stylization, the new traits of Constantine's portrait were seldom imitated in private portraits. Most contemporaries continued the tetrarchic way of representation with short hair, beard, and signs of age, and a 'strained' facial expression, only in a more frozen, monumental, and dignified way than before.¹⁹ The portrait of Dogmatius in the Vatican (LSA 903), dated prosopographically to AD 326–37 (Fig. 23.5),²⁰ is a case in point. This fashion prevails well into the fourth century and is used programmatically in the portraits of several short-lived emperors, the so-called usurpers, in the middle of the fourth century AD.²¹

Is it possible to decide if this separation of the non-imperial from the imperial portrait

¹¹ Cf. Bergmann (2013) and Beste and von Hesberg (2013).
¹² Bergmann (1997).

¹³ Fittschen (1980: 113–14).

¹⁴ Bergmann (1981: 145–7).

¹⁵ <http://viamus.uni-goettingen.de/fr/e/uni/e/08> 'Die Epoche der Soldatenkaiser 235–285 n.Chr.' and <http://viamus.uni-goettingen.de/fr/e/uni/e/09> 'Die Kaiser der Tetrarchie'.

¹⁶ LSA 558, 833, 834, and 1062. See further the recent discussions by Smith (1997) and Romeo (1999).

¹⁷ Cf. LSA 841, the porphyry groups in the Vatican Museum. Cf. also LSA 810 and 1045.

¹⁸ The two best-known examples are LSA 896 and 897. For the iconography of Maxentius, see also Evers (1992).

¹⁹ LSA 251, 805, 903, 904, 1553 (also recut), 2127 and Antalya: IR II, 256–7, no. 235, pl. 168.

²⁰ See the discussion of the inscription of the statue base (CIL VI 1704 = ILS 1214; LSA 1266) by E. Meinhardt, in Helbig, 4th edn, I, no. 1134.

²¹ Vetrano: RIC VIII, 367–70, pl. 16; Nepotianus: RIC VIII, 265–6, nos 200–202, pl. 10; Decentius: RIC VIII, 326, no. 124, pl. 14.

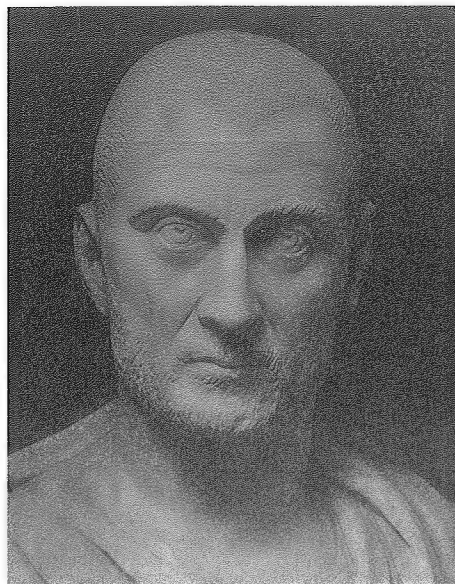


Fig. 23.5 Head of C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius. From Rome. 324–37, LSA 903. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10493. H of head: 28 cm.

depended on a new claim of Constantine's portrait for imperial dignity, as was surely the case for the imperial portrait type later in the fourth century? Or were there other reasons, and did the Constantinian portrait only gain this connotation in the course of the development of the imperial reign? The authors of this chapter agree that the special stylization of Constantine's main portrait type, which existed certainly by AD 310,²² must basically be seen as a continuation of the major experimental phase of the second half of the third century, in which the emperors searched for new and adequate forms of representation: from late Gallienus, with his Alexander- and half-god-like hair and strangely abstract facial features; to the three emperors Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian, and Probus, whose portraits have similar and markedly rectangular stylizations, citing each other for political reasons;

²² Wright (1987); see the issues of small bronze pieces from Trier: Zschucke (2002: 67–9) (with illustration), possibly also 65, no. 10.1.

to Carinus, who tried to look like a late Severan emperor; and in between, known only through coins, Quintillus, Claudius Gothicus' brother, with curly hair in an Antonine fashion and Numerianus, Carinus' brother, with sleek long hair and even wearing the royal diadem.²³ After these, the super-expressionism of the tetrarchs was another, also short-lived experiment. Constantine's portrait was yet another experiment—but one that succeeded.

Our opinions, however, differ in further interpretations. M. Bergmann believes that Constantine's portrait gained a special 'imperial' quality, which made the type unsuitable for common use only in the course of Constantine's reign (Fig. 23.4). This implies that the type was used for the Caesars as a dynastic one and then gradually adopted the connotation of specifically 'imperial'. It was thus, not conceived in the sense of immovable dignity, which came later to be associated with the imperial type (see Constantius II's comportment on the occasion of his visit to Rome, Ammianus 16.10.9–12), but as youthful.²⁴ In that sense, it continues the tradition of the youthful portraits of the tetrarchic Caesars (LSA 841) as seen in the Vatican porphyry groups (LSA 840 and 841) and in the younger man (LSA 1046) of the tetrarchic pair from Chieti (LSA 1045 and 1046). Furthermore, if the imperial portrait had been intended as exclusively 'imperial' from the start, it would be strange that at least in the beginning a number of private portraits imitated the bony physiognomy, though not the youthful features, of Constantine.²⁵ Even female private portraits (such as LSA 976 and 1194) were inspired by bony, Constantinian physiognomy. This may indicate that in the beginning Constantine's portrait was not taboo for those who were interested in imitating the facial qualities of the emperor, but that

²³ See Bergmann (1983: n. 15).

²⁴ See Smith (1997: 185–7).

²⁵ e.g. LSA 251 and 683. See also a portrait on a sarcophagus in Arles: Christern-Briesenick et al. (2003: 23–5, no. 38, pls 12 and 13). For a frontal view of the male head, see Rilliet-Maillard (1979: 21, fig. 5).

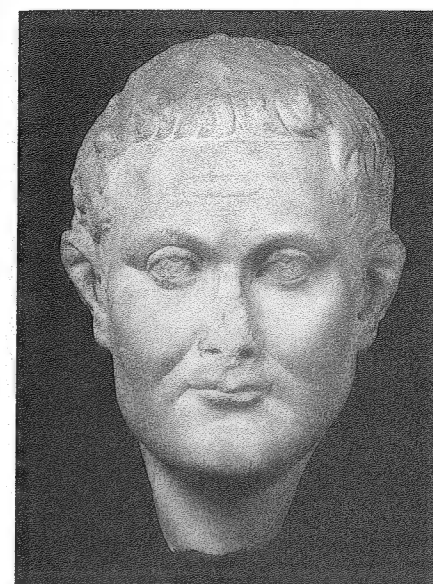


Fig. 23.6 Head of clean-shaven man (recut). From Ephesus. Early fourth century, LSA 683. Izmir, Archaeological Museum, inv. 563. H: 32.5 cm.

its youthful features were not thought suitable for elderly men.

In contrast to this interpretation, Kovacs argues that even when the image of Constantine was cited by individuals, they never copied the image exactly. There are always additional traits that deliberately evoke a more realistic image—observable, for example, in a portrait from Ephesus (LSA 683, Fig. 23.6), which looks almost corpulent due to its double chin. In fact, the youthful image made imitation impractical, not only because of the portrait type's sheer youthfulness but also on the basis of a more elaborate, distinctive image of the emperor and his portrait, which can be seen in certain literary sources—for example, the famous panegyric from as early as AD 307, given in Aquileia:²⁶

²⁶ Pan. Lat. 7.6.4–5: *Quamquam enim ipsi ferant difficillimam esse praecipuae cuiusque formae imitationem, quia certis sui notis cito deformitas exprimitur, similitudo autem pulchritudinis tam sit ardua quam rara est pulchritudo, non tamen tantum ille cepit laboris ex ore vestro divinas species transferendo quantum voluptatis hausit comminus vos intuendo, inspiciendo solliciti, et curiose ab hilaritate illius aetatis vultus*

And even if they argue that the imitation of most excellent men is highly difficult, because ugliness can be easily expressed through certain indicators and the likeness in beauty is as difficult to reproduce as the beauty is rare itself, that didn't cause much trouble, when he was reproducing your divine features on the painting, how he took pleasure while looking at you from face to face, carefully beholding you and deliberately shaping immovable severity from the cheerfulness of juvenility, and finally revealing the discreet indication of your love, so that you both were able to look at each other through the painting, **what otherwise timid restraint forbade both of you.**

Even if we consider the possible imitation of the emperor's portrait in the form of citations, there must have been a specific shift in the visual language of the countenance and meaning of the emperor's face already in the time of Constantine or perhaps even a little earlier. The emperor's facial appearance now had a distinctive monarchic character, in contrast to the non-monarchic concept of the images of Augustus and most of his successors.

However that may be, private buyers and hon-orands were increasingly abandoning imperial models for their own representation, and it is exciting to observe what happened in the field of private portraiture. In the fourth century, we find that—apart from the general principles of non-imperial hairstyle, a beard, and mostly an elderly characterization—everybody looked different from each other. The possible reasons for this phenomenon and its implications can again be interpreted in different ways, but that is beyond the scope of this chapter.²⁷

While for most of the fourth century only a few portraits survive from the east, the situation changes in the Theodosian period, when portraits from the east as well as from the western part of the Roman empire survive. Different choices can be recognized. We have

immobiles et serios exigendo, promendo denique amoris vestri tacita praesagia ut, quod invicem vobis verecundia negebat, libere vos in imagine cerneretis. See also Kovacs (2012: 207–8, no. II.1).

²⁷ See Kovacs (2014).



Fig. 23.7 Detail of ivory diptych of 'Stilicho', later fourth or early fifth century. Monza, Cathedral. Cast, Ashmolean Museum.

mentioned that imperial portraits seem youthful or ageless, refined, their facial expression almost unmoved,²⁸ as in the real-life comportment of Constantius II at Rome mentioned above.

For non-imperial persons the simplest choice was to re-use an old statue and slightly recarve the portrait—as was done in the case of the statue of Virius Audentius Aemilianus from Puteoli, datable to AD 364–78 (LSA 41 and 46) (Figs 22.1 and 22.3). The head has the general proportions of contemporary imperial portraits but is bearded and tries to convey an energetic expression. Alternatively, a private person could look like 'Stilicho' on the famous diptych at Monza (Fig. 23.7),²⁹ with a beard on a lightly lined face. This represents a common and widespread type

²⁸ LSA 163 and 196. Obelisk of Theodosius: Bruns (1935). Missorium of Theodosius: Volbach and Hirmer (1958: pl. 53). Cameo of Honorius and Maria: Volbach and Hirmer (1958: pl. 59).

²⁹ Delbrueck (1929: 242–8, no. 63). For recent discussion of the disputed identity of the figure of 'Stilicho', see Warland (1994) and von Rummel (2007: 206–13).

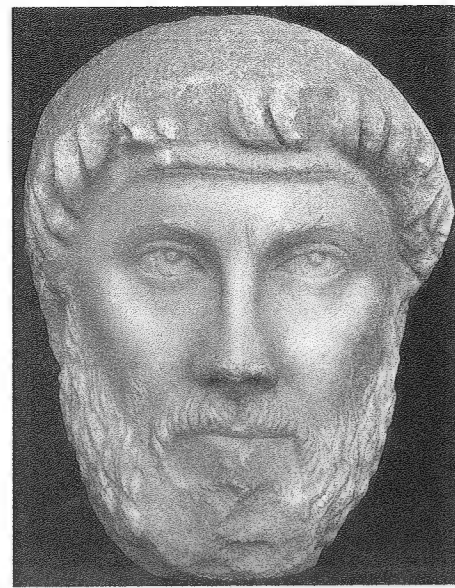


Fig. 23.8 Recut head of bearded man. From Aphrodisias. Later fourth to fifth century, LSA 200. Aphrodisias Museum, inv. 79/10/211. H: 28 cm.

in Rome, Constantinople,³⁰ and also at Aphrodisias, where a recarved head (LSA 200) is remarkably similar to the portrait of the diptych (Fig. 23.8).

A portrait from Rome (LSA 1065), for which different dates have been proposed, show that it has a decidedly Theodosian kind of 'period face'—long, beardless, with sleek hair and only slight signs of age (Fig. 23.9). Another portrait from Rome in the Louvre has been thought to represent Maxentius (LSA 1074), but its long face, diagonal back of the head, and other elements date it to the years around AD 400 (Fig. 23.10). It tries to be more stereotypically 'Roman' than the other one: although it seems to represent a youngish man, it has a number of lines under the eyes and a wart on the cheek that echoes a long line of warts on Roman portraits. Close to this head is the portrait of an older man in Florence (LSA 2116) with almost the same hairstyle. In this context it is

³⁰ e.g. LSA 1197 (Rome) and 376 (Constantinople).

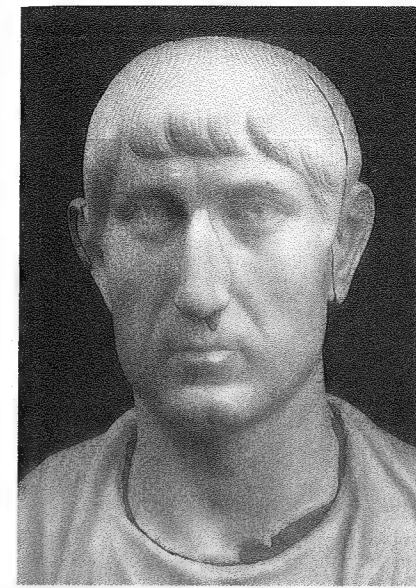


Fig. 23.9 Bust of clean-shaven man with lank hair. From Rome. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 1065. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 56199. H: 47 cm.

perhaps not by chance that the fringe of a probably contemporaneous recarved head in the Vatican recalls Julio-Claudian fringes (LSA 1198). A simpler portrait from Aphrodisias (LSA 178) seems less retrospective. It is typologically close to anonymous intellectuals on the sarcophagus from Sarigüzül in Istanbul.³¹ If you were very young, you were represented as in a portrait from Ephesus (LSA 553) that demonstrates a close proximity to imperial portraits—and was often thought to represent an emperor—but it is slightly bearded and certainly of a non-imperial subject.

At the same time, portraits in Aphrodisias could have more curly hair and look slightly fat—for example, Oecumenius (LSA 150 and 151) (Fig. 1.15), whose face, however, is based on the type of portraits on Theodosius' obelisk base and the portrait of Valentinian from

³¹ Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4508: Mansel (1934); Kollwitz (1941: 132–45, pl. 47, 2); Küllerich (1993: 126–8, figs 69 and 70).

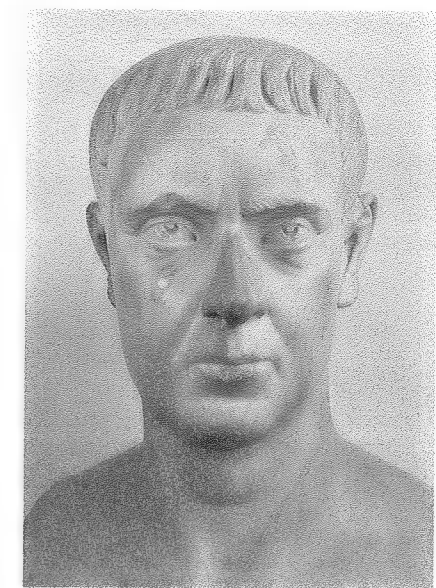


Fig. 23.10 Head of man with engraved beard and lank fringe on tall brow. From Italy. Later fourth century, LSA 1074. Paris, Louvre, inv. MA 2168. H: 27 cm.

Aphrodisias (LSA 163, Fig. 23.11). And last but not least, and perhaps slightly later, a portrait could have exuberant curly hair ending in a straight line over the brow and protruding to the sides, as worn on the terracotta imitation of the diptych of Anicius Auchenius Bassus (Fig. 23.12),³² consul in Rome in AD 408, and by a splendid head from Asia Minor, now in the Ortiz collection (LSA 450, Fig. 23.13). It is said to be from Ephesus, but has striking resemblances to sculpture from the Aphrodisias workshops. All of the portraits mentioned are shown with different variations of beards. The characteristic forms of the eye zone link the Ortiz portrait (LSA 450) to a well-known portrait with a priest's wreath from the western slope of the Athenian acropolis (LSA 1083, Fig. 23.14), a paradigm of a late antique type of intellectual, which is known also from Asia Minor but was already used in the Constantinian frescoes at

³² Spier (2003).

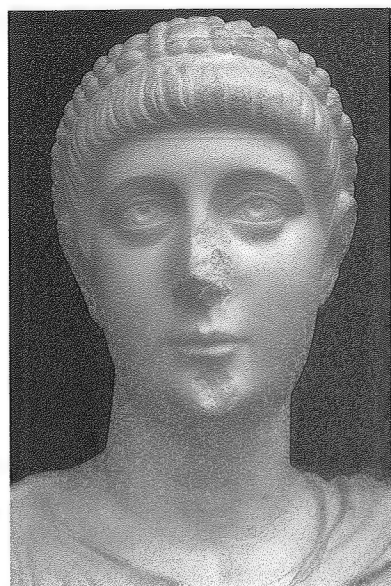


Fig. 23.11 Head of emperor (Arcadius or Valentinian II). From Aphrodisias. 388–92, LSA 163. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2264. H of head: 21 cm. Cast, Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der freien Universität (Institut für klassische Archäologie), Berlin.

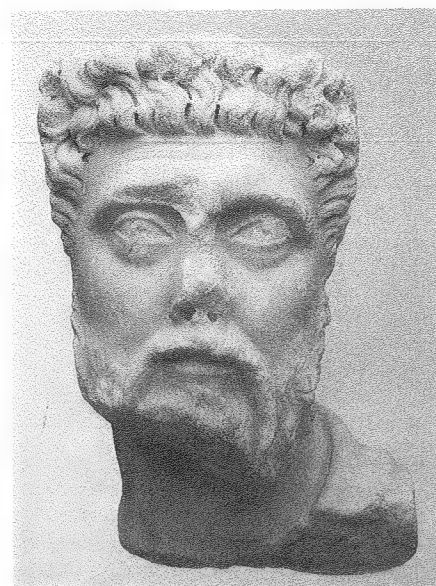


Fig. 23.13 Bust of bearded man. Formerly Lansdowne Collection. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 450. Geneva, Ortiz Collection. H: 34.8 cm.



Fig. 23.12 Detail of terracotta diptych of Anicius Auchenius Bassus, AD 408. Munich, Archäologische Staatssammlung, inv. PStslg.inv. 1988.3002.

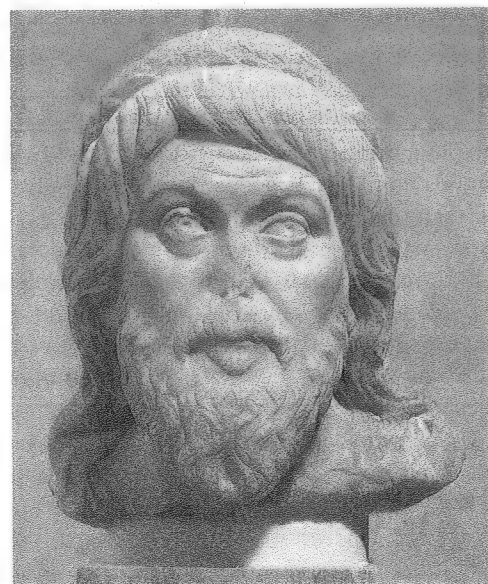


Fig. 23.14 Head of man with wreath, beard, and long hair. From Athens. Late fourth to early fifth century, LSA 1083. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. 1313. H: 35 cm.

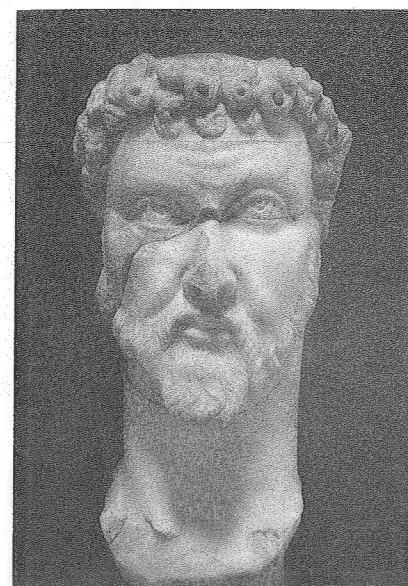


Fig. 23.15 Head of man with long face and beard (Ostia-Vatican type). From Ostia. Fifth century, LSA 956. Ostia Antica, Antiquario. H: 41 cm.

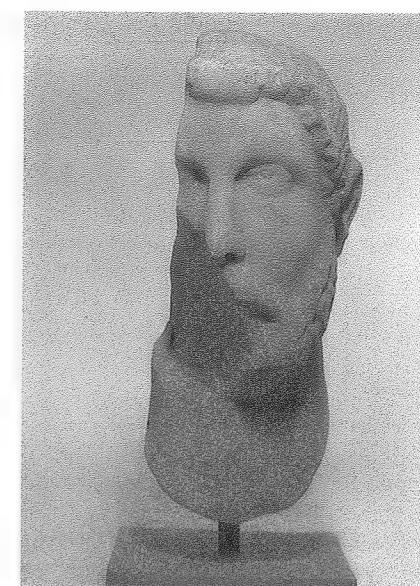


Fig. 23.16 Head of bearded man. From Corinth. Fifth century, LSA 75. Corinth, Museum, inv. S-1454. H: 38 cm.

Trier.³³ More examples come to mind, but even these few clearly demonstrate that there was a wide variety of choice and that retrospective elements were not unusual.

From the time of Theodosius and through the fifth century, we witness the evolution of specific types, following some basic models, which were adopted for almost the whole of the century. They were iconographically independent from the emperors. A prominent group—one may also call it a 'period type'—is characterized by signs of age, short or slightly longer beards, and hair with some volume at the front, a tendency to bulge at the sides, and a straight or arched hairline at the front. They have been mostly found in Rome and Ostia (Fig. 23.15).³⁴ Two others were found at Corinth (LSA 75 and 81, Fig. 23.16),

and a portrait now in Vienna (LSA 691, Fig. 23.17) is a representative example from Ephesus. Another two portraits, one now in Boston (LSA 1186, Fig. 23.18) and the other in the Torlonia collection in Rome (LSA 958, Fig. 23.19), have a striking similarity to a head on the diptych of the Lampadii in Brescia, datable to the 420s (Fig. 23.23).³⁵ The hair arrangement of the Ortiz head (Fig. 23.13) and of course that of Anicius Auchenius Bassus (Fig. 23.12) are related to this type; whereas these belong to the early fifth century, the last example of this period type (LSA 956, from Ostia) may have been carved around 500 or even later.

Fifth-century Aphrodisias preferred portraits with curly, heavily drilled hair,³⁶ often with characteristic, expressive eyes. The hair in general recalls the portraits of the second century, and it was undoubtedly intended to do so. But in the

³³ See, e.g. the famous bust of an intellectual in Istanbul, found in Gedikpaşa: LSA 375. Constantinian frescoes in Trier: Simon (1986: 15–16, pl. 1).

³⁴ LSA 956, 958, 959, 961, and 1186. See also a head in Ostia, LSA 1101, and a small-scale portrait in the Capitoline Museum, LSA 2535.

³⁵ Delbrueck (1929: 218–21, no. 56); Painter (2000: 445–7, no. 33).

³⁶ LSA 174, 176, 181, 182, 203, 318 (Sardis), 447 (Stratonicea), and 450 (Asia Minor). And without curls: LSA 169 and 460 (Asia Minor?).



Fig. 23.17 Head of man with fringe of snail curls and under-chin beard. From Ephesus. Fifth century, LSA 691. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. ASI 835. H: 22.8 cm.

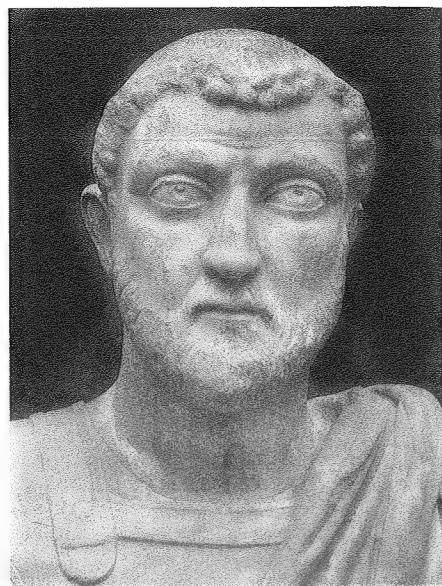


Fig. 23.19 Head of man with short beard and hair combed forward. From Rome? Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 958. Rome, Museo Torlonia, inv. 618.

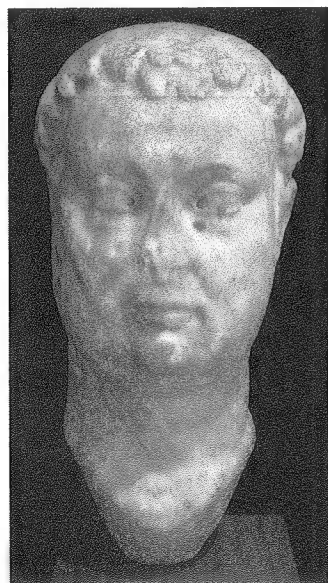


Fig. 23.18 Head of clean-shaven man. Late fourth to fifth century, LSA 1186. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1977.656. H: 43 cm.

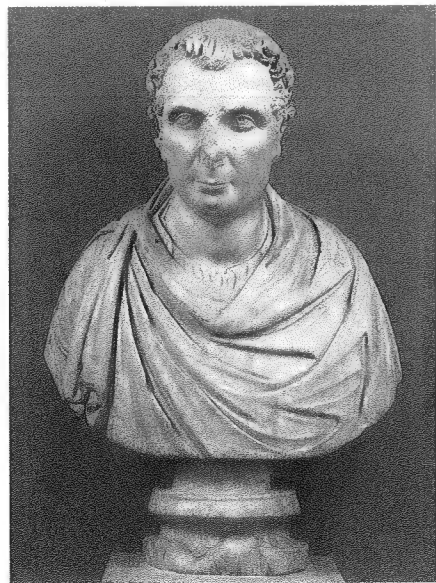


Fig. 23.20 Bust of clean-shaven man. From modern Naoussa. Early fifth century, LSA 90. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1061. H: 72 cm.

characterization of the faces, there are clear differences between more late antique and more retrospective versions.³⁷

At the same time, there is a famous group of abstract portraits from Ephesus, called the 'Eutropius group'³⁸ after the best example (LSA 690) (Fig. 13.3). They were often taken as examples illustrating late antique spirituality. R. R. R. Smith argues, however, that they represent active men of political power, and their expression was probably intended to convey firmness and purposefulness as opposed to spirituality.³⁹ Nevertheless, it remains unclear why for a certain time workshops at Ephesus produced these strange abstract portraits and then evidently abandoned this production.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, there is evidently another 'period type', a *koine* in Asia Minor, with the extremely rich and curly hair of portraits like that of Flavius Palmatus from Aphrodisias (LSA 198) (Fig. 1.10).⁴⁰ This model was also used at Ephesus (LSA 697 and 702) and in Constantinople, as shown by the bases for the charioteer Porphyrius (LSA 349 and 361). The younger entourage of Justinian in the imperial mosaic at Ravenna from AD 550 has sleek strands but the same mass of hair.⁴¹ Similar portraits were common during the sixth century, often with isolated curls above the forehead, as shown on the fat dignitary who stands beside Justinian in Ravenna (Fig. 23.3), in the portrait of Philoxenos on a Constantinopolitan diptych of AD 525,⁴² and in a bust from Ephesus (LSA 697).

But how can we understand the differences between these three groups: the one, which we might call the Rome/Ostia/Corinth group, the Eutropius group, and the portraits with the mass of curly hair? How should we imagine the

portraits at Constantinople? What was an 'international' iconography and what were specifically 'local' phenomena?

As there are almost no portraits from Constantinople itself, it is necessary to look for traits and types, which seem to be 'international'. They might derive from Constantinople and indicate that similar portraits existed there. Indeed, there are some remarkable connections between east and west. Good examples include the portrait on the Roman 'Stilicho diptych' (Fig. 23.7) and the head at Aphrodisias mentioned earlier (LSA 200, Fig. 23.8), or the copy of the diptych of Anicius Auchenius Bassus from Rome (Fig. 23.12) and its close parallel in the head of the Ortiz collection (LSA 450, Fig. 23.13) from Asia Minor.

In addition, the Rome/Ostia/Corinth group, which includes the Ortiz head, shows these connections. The Eutropius group from Ephesus is connected to this 'period type' through its 'rectangular' hair at the front, smooth or with short curls, and may be understood as a local version of this 'period type' of the fifth century.⁴³

Another interesting east-west link exists between the well-known busts with short beards and short, curly, slightly receding hair in Thessaloniki (LSA 90, Fig. 23.20) and Bodrum (LSA 447, Fig. 23.21), from around AD 400 or later, and a portrait in a later painting with the depiction of a certain Theotecnus in the catacombs of San Gennaro in Naples (Fig. 23.22).⁴⁴ The late example from Naples (sixth century) demonstrates a long-term fashion in late antique portraiture.

On the other hand, it is notable that the fashion of the group with rich curly hair that forms around Flavius Palmatus (LSA 198) (Fig. 1.10), and that exists at Constantinople and is recalled in the massive hairstyles in the imperial mosaic at Ravenna, seems to be almost absent in portraits in the round in the western part of the empire. Again we have to ask: why are portraits with this hairstyle missing in the west,⁴⁵ although there is a

³⁷ Cf. LSA 174 and 182.

³⁸ LSA 690-692 and 709. Compare also the lost head from the Agora of Smyrna, LSA 320, and a portrait from Chios, LSA 2099.

³⁹ Smith (1999: 185-8. See also above, Ch. 1 (Smith).

⁴⁰ LSA 170, 173, 177, 198.

⁴¹ See n. 5.

⁴² Delbrueck (1929: 144-6, no. 29).

⁴³ LSA 690-92.

⁴⁴ Fasola (1975: 96, fig. 68, pl. 5).

⁴⁵ Cf. a fragment in the Capitoline Museums, inv. 2342, which does perhaps represent this group in Rome: LSA 2833.



Fig. 23.21 Head of man from bust. From Stratonicea. Fifth century. LSA 446. Bodrum, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4.4.78. H (bust): 72 cm. Cast, Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der freien Universität (Institut für klassische Archäologie), Berlin.



Fig. 23.22 Portrait of man from family of Theotecnus, cubicle 23, in catacombs of S. Gennaro, Naples.

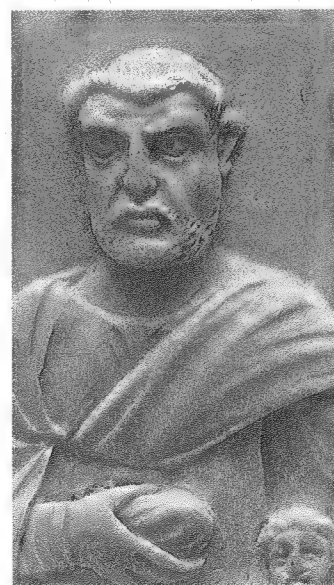


Fig. 23.23 Bearded man wearing toga in tribunal at circus. Detail of ivory diptych of Lampadii. Earlier fifth century. Brescia, Museo Civico Cristiano. Cast, Ashmolean Museum.

something of a surge in imperial and non-imperial portraits in late fifth- and sixth-century Italy?⁴⁶

One last centre of portrait production may be briefly discussed here: Athens in the fifth century. H. P. L'Orange and G. Dontas identified some portraits from the fifth and sixth centuries from Athens⁴⁷—for example, a simplified but nonetheless typical portrait head (LSA 119, Fig. 23.24). It has stiff hair standing at the sides, a ring of curls around the front, an isolated 'tongue' of hair on the forehead, a rectangular moustache on the upper lip, a 'beard-fly' below the lower lip, and thin, hard eyelids. Closely related are some portraits with divergent iconographies. They are connected not because of their type, but because

⁴⁶ e.g. LSA 755, 756, 757, 762, and 813.

⁴⁷ L'Orange (1933: 88–92); Dontas (2003).

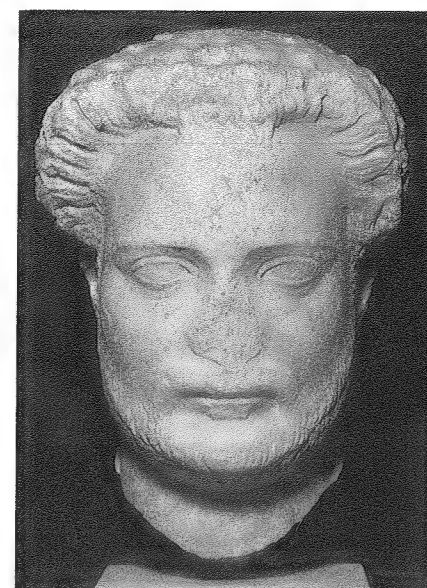


Fig. 23.24 Head of bearded man with swept-back fringe. Athens. Fifth century. LSA 119. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 2314. H: 28.5 cm.



Fig. 23.25 Eyes of three male portrait heads from Athens. (a) LSA 119 = Fig. 23.24. (b) LSA 131 = Fig. 23.26. (c) LSA 132 = Fig. 23.27.

of their workmanship and in details such as the forms of their eyes (Fig. 23.25). This is not the place to go into these details—only a general idea can be given. A portrait from the south slope of the Athenian acropolis evidently cites an older, philosophical, perhaps stoic iconography, with short hair (LSA 131, Fig. 23.26). A third portrait (LSA 101) is perhaps closest to the common fifth-century models from Italy and Greece, but is remarkable for its strongly individualizing features.

Another portrait (LSA 132, Fig. 23.27), found in the vicinity of the Library of Hadrian, has curly hair and a beard, and clearly cites Antonine portraits while exaggerating the masses of hair and beard. In addition, it wears a priest's broad wreath, which can be connected with the cult of Eleusis.⁴⁸ Two more portraits with these voluminous wreaths belong to the same group: the

⁴⁸ See for comparison Clinton (1974: 32–3, no. 23, fig. 3) and a statue of an Athenian Hierophant at Petworth House: Raeder (2001: 155–9, no. 52, pls 67, 68, 69.1, with Beil. 5).

half bald head of an older man with a full beard at Corinth (LSA 74) and a portrait with long straight hair in Dresden.⁴⁹ All these must have been made in one workshop.

These portraits, with their priestly attributes and with their partly retrospective stylization, can be connected with a special type of late antique intellectual at Athens.⁵⁰ They were teachers at the university, engaged in the old cults, and at the same time benefactors in

⁴⁹ Meischner (1988: 19–28, figs 3 and 4).

⁵⁰ Kovacs (2014).

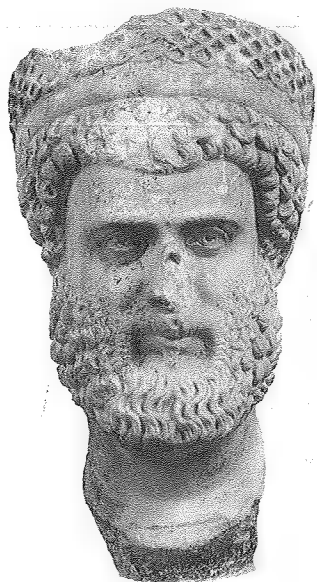


Fig. 23.27 Head of bearded man wearing wreath and crown. Athens, late second century or late antique(?), LSA 132, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 2006. H: 43 cm.

man with short
fifth century,
Museum,

earned them
second and third
be Greek and
by citing clas-
these pagan
as the well-
biography
and the exist-
mous sage⁵³—

bluchus from the
Plutarchus (LSA
cing the Panathe-
ate epigram for a
SA 2651.

gonds 2001. For
Life of Proclus 3,

represented themselves as true followers of old ideals. And they did so in a most eclectic way, bravely fighting against a world which they saw changing every day.

Although this is an extreme variant of late antique portraiture, it nevertheless sheds light on the general picture. Evidently, collective types existed in late antiquity, but there were always a number of singular solutions and of stylizations that looked back to the past, as well as exotic cases that are probably only to be explained in circumstances in which a full-sized public portrait, whether painted or in stone, had become something exceptional and high-class.

CHAPTER 24

The end of the statue habit, AD 284–620

Bryan Ward-Perkins

INTRODUCTION

As we have seen in all the regional and site-specific chapters in this book, the habit of erecting honorific statues faded more or less steadily through our period. A search in the LSA database for statue bases datable to pre-Constantinian times (the twenty-eight years between 284 and 312) produces 325 bases; already in the next twenty-five years (the reign of Constantine, 312–37) the number shrinks to 167; while for the twenty-nine years of the earlier Theodosian period (379–408) the figure is down to 133.¹ In the fifth century the rate of shrinkage accelerated, so that from the entire period after 450 under forty datable bases are known. By 550 the statue habit was effectively dead outside Constantinople.² The last reliably documented honorific statue was set up in Constantinople some time early in the reign of Heraclius (AD 610–41, LSA 478). In this chapter I will investigate this steady decline and eventual disappearance, and explore the possible reasons behind it.

WHEN DID NEW DEDICATIONS CEASE?

To understand why the statue habit ended, it is essential to outline the broad pattern of change that eventually led to the total disappearance of new honorific statuary; and the first thing to note is that much of the decline pre-dated 284, the date selected for the start of our project. For instance, even at Lepcis Magna, a city exceptionally rich in late antique honorific statuary, the seventy-five dedications of the late third and the fourth century are considerably fewer than those of the second and early third.³ At Aphrodisias, there are about 275 surviving inscribed statue bases datable to the earlier empire, to set against some forty for the period of LSA.⁴ With the sole exception of sites that assumed wholly new importance in late antiquity, such as Constantinople, it is clear that early imperial statuary consistently outweighed (generally by a substantial margin) that of the period after 284. Furthermore, as R. R. R. Smith makes clear in Chapter 1, it is also well recognized that by the start of our period the pattern of who was receiving statuary had already substantially changed (Fig. 1.3): in

¹ Because the information from the statue bases is the most readily compared—since many of them are datable, at least approximately, and since something approaching a representative sample survives—these are what I principally examine in this chapter when setting out the broad trends.

³ Tantillo (2010b: 184–99). Furthermore, since statues and statue bases were so often re-used (erasing the earlier inscriptions), the later evidence must survive better than that from earlier Roman times: Stewart (2007: 27).

⁴ Earlier empire: Smith et al. (2006: 77–97). Late antique

particular, statues to local notables, which predominate in the record of the early empire, had already substantially declined in number (there are only c. 130 inscribed dedications to local figures in our database, around 10 per cent of the total).

In some parts of the empire, honorific statuary had never successfully established itself, and the practice was effectively dead there even before our period began. There are, for instance, only four entries for Britain in the LSA database, and only one of them relates straightforwardly to an honorific statue (a marble head, perhaps of Constantine, LSA 1226). The same is true of northern Gaul and the northern Rhineland provinces: just two bases from our period are recorded, and both of these come from the wholly exceptional context of the imperial city of Trier (LSA 2610 and 2611).⁵

It was not only in highly marginal provinces such as Britain, however, that the statue habit had never really established itself, and where it disappeared remarkably early. From the whole of Egypt and the Near East, rich and heavily urbanized regions, only about fifty statue inscriptions appear in the LSA database, and thirty-four of them date from the beginning of our period, before 337.⁶ Statues had never played a major role in the thriving towns of the Levant; this did not change in late antiquity, and by the later fourth century here a statue was set up only occasionally.

Other areas had once seen considerable numbers of dedications but lost the statue habit early on, in some cases even before our period began. Particularly striking is the case of southern Gaul, always a heavily Romanized province, where we might have expected the statue habit to have survived in some strength into late antiquity, but which has only produced six statue bases from our period, none securely datable beyond

⁵ Trier has also produced considerable quantities of sculptural evidence (LSA 584, 1076, 2402, and 2407), and more is known from the nearby imperial villa at Welschbillig (LSA 1075 and 2637-40).

⁶ See Ch. 9 (Gehn and Ward-Perkins), which however also includes the evidence from Cyprus (which increases the numbers slightly).

the early years of the fourth century.⁷ In the Iberian peninsula the statue habit survived into our period slightly better, with some forty-two bases recorded, but all of them come from only fourteen cities. Dedications to men other than emperors here are extremely rare (only six of the total), and even dedications to emperors fall off markedly after the death of Constantine. The last reliably dated statue base from Iberia was set up in 379-87 (LSA 1989) (Fig. 5.3), but by this date the local statue habit was already dead: this monument was erected to a former governor by the grateful people of the province of Asia, where, unlike Iberia, the statue habit was still alive and well in the late fourth century. In the Balkans too, the most marked decline had happened before our period and continued through the earlier fourth century: by 350 the statue habit in the region had disappeared, though it did have an interesting minor resurgence in the fifth century.⁸

The broad regions where the statue habit survived best in late antiquity, and the only regions with a flourishing habit after about 350, were the following: Italy, from which we know of c. 335 statue inscriptions (249 from south of Rome, 86 from north of Rome); Rome itself, with by far the largest concentration of late antique statue inscriptions anywhere—no fewer than 374 in total; the provinces of central North Africa, from Tripolitania to Numidia, with 359 bases; and the Aegean provinces (Greece, the islands, and western Asia Minor), with about 400. Constantinople was also rich in statuary, reaching much later in time than any other city, though the extensive evidence we have from it is largely literary (only thirteen statue bases are known, several of them uninscribed) and primarily relates to imperial statuary (131 of the 193 entries in the database), and so is not readily comparable with material from other regions.

⁷ See Ch. 5 (Witschel) for this and for what follows on Iberia. We might expect southern Gaul to show a similar statue history to Italy north of Rome, but this latter broad region has 86 entries in the LSA database, many from the Po plain.

⁸ For the Balkans, see Ch. 6 (Gehn and Ward-Perkins).

Each of these regions has a different statue history; indeed, within each broad region there are also striking differences between particular areas.⁹ Developments are particularly clear in Italy, including Rome, for two reasons.¹⁰ First, because the evidence is so extensive, with over 700 statue inscriptions recorded, revealing patterns that can be traced simultaneously across several different urban centres. Secondly, because the Italian, and particularly the Roman, evidence is unusually closely datable—the statue bases give full datable details of honorands' names and *cursus honorum*.

Rome had the greatest concentration of late antique honorific statuary anywhere in the empire, with, at the beginning of our period, a tradition that still included dedications by groups such as guilds (which, outside Rome and Campania, are otherwise rare). It also had the longest lasting statue habit of the west, reaching into the later fifth century. Even in Rome, however, the statue habit was moribund before 500; indeed, if we exclude statue inscriptions that record the repair or relocation of statuary (rather than new honorific dedications), it had for the most part disappeared by 450.¹¹ There is evidence of statues of Theoderic, the Ostrogothic king of Italy (493-526), being set up in Rome, but it is striking, and surprising, that, despite the undoubted conservatism of men like Cassiodorus, there is no

⁹ Many not readily explicable: e.g. the fact that Sicily, a very 'senatorial' province, has only produced 17 late antique statue inscriptions—compared, e.g. to the 170 from Campania.

¹⁰ For what follows, I am dependent on Ch. 3 (Machado) on Italy and Chapter 10 (Machado with Lenaghan) on Rome.

¹¹ The last well-preserved inscribed bases in Rome are the group of three set up in the Colosseum by the consul and prefect of the city, Basilius, in 484 (LSA 1419, 1420, and 1421). They probably supported statues, but their wording is wholly atypical, so this is not certain. There is also literary testimony to *imagines* (probably statues) of the emperor Zeno (474-91), set up in different places across the city: LSA 2749. Further, Rome and Italy have produced a remarkable group of later 5th-/early 6th-c. heads, both male and female, several with diadems and so imperial (or royal): LSA 755-8, 760, 815, and 1079 (Fig. 10.11). The quality of finish on these heads is high and all were probably from busts, displayed indoors and without inscriptions (LSA 755 survives as a bust). Quite how these busts were used, and why there are so many of them in Italy, during a period when conventional imperial statuary had more or less disappeared, is a mystery.

evidence that the aristocracy of Rome was still being granted statue honours in the early sixth century.¹² The famous Column of Phocas (LSA 1313), a statue monument dedicated by the exarch in 608, is highly deceptive—it has all the air of being part of a live statue tradition, but in reality the tradition was long dead in Italy, even in Rome, and what we see here in the Forum is a practice imported from Constantinople, where it still (just) survived.¹³

Southern Italy, in particular the senatorial province of Campania, was also rich in fourth-century dedications, but here the tradition died earlier than in Rome, at the beginning of the fifth century. The end was almost certainly accelerated by the crisis of the years around 410, since there are a number of dedications reliably datable to the first decade of the fifth century and almost nothing thereafter. The last reliably dated dedication is of 437 (LSA 324), and by this time it is an isolated example. In northern Italy, any consistent picture of new dedications ends even earlier, in the 370s. In striking contrast to contemporary Constantinople, even the new imperial residence of Ravenna has produced almost no evidence, except for an equestrian bronze statue dedicated to the Ostrogothic king, Theoderic (493-526, LSA 2751).¹⁴ Italy, particularly Rome, has however produced a number of inscriptions recording the repair or relocation of older statuary, several of which can be dated securely to the later fifth century. This is important because it shows a continued attachment in Italy to carving inscriptions on statue bases (as opposed, e.g. to painting them) and to the care and conservation of old statues inherited from the past.¹⁵ But this appreciation, and this

¹² LSA 490 and 491 for statues of Theoderic in Rome.

¹³ Phocas' two columns in Constantinople: LSA 2774 and 2775. Columnar monuments, after a tetrarchic group in the Forum, were not a feature of the statue landscape in Rome.

¹⁴ The archaeology of Ravenna, which is deeply buried, is admittedly little known. See recently Deliyannis (2010).

¹⁵ Good examples are the bases set up in Rome by a prefect of the city, Paulinus, sometime in the 3rd quarter of the 5th c.: LSA 1088, 1283, 1338, 1523, 1819, and 2664. The repair of old statues in Rome persisted into Ostrogothic times: e.g. in Cassiodorus, *Variae* X.30 of 535-6, Theodahad orders the repair of bronze elephants on the Via Sacra.

epigraphic habit, no longer extended to the setting up of new honorific sculpture.

The evidence from Africa is less well dated than that from Italy, because fewer of the non-imperial figures commemorated here rose high in imperial service (and hence into datable historical prominence).¹⁶ However, most of the African evidence (205 of the 359 inscriptions in the LSA database) relates to honours for emperors, which, for obvious reasons, are almost always closely datable; so the overall patterns of change are clear. The picture in Africa is interesting and somewhat puzzling. One immediate characteristic is a strong degree of local variation. Some of this is unsurprising—in particular the scarcity of evidence from the thinly urbanized provinces at the western end of the North African coast. But other aspects are less easily explained: for instance, an apparently complete lack of epigraphic evidence from Cyrenaica, and the comparative scarcity of statue inscriptions from Byzacena (with only twenty-three late antique bases recorded), despite its dense network of cities and its proximity to the statue-rich Proconsularis (Fig. 4.7). By contrast, the late antique statue dedications of Lepcis Magna, the capital of Tripolitania, stand out for their abundance and diversity: Lepcis has produced seventy-five statue inscriptions from our period (considerably more than any other city of the empire outside Rome), to an unusually wide range of honorands.¹⁷ While, as mentioned, dedications to emperors predominate in late antique Africa, in Lepcis, although they are present in healthy numbers (twenty-two), they are substantially outnumbered by the combined total of dedications to imperial office-holders (twenty-six) and to local figures (sixteen).

The chronological pattern of the decline of new dedications in Africa follows the empire-wide pattern (high numbers in the tetrarchic

period, followed by progressive decline in numbers thereafter) but with an interesting twist: a resurgence in the number of imperial statues in Valentinianic times (363–79). C. Lepelley attributed this to a softening of policy towards the city councils by the Valentinianic emperors, after the harsh centralizing regime of the Constantinian dynasty; and this argument makes a lot of sense, since the great majority of the imperial statuary in Africa (and elsewhere) was dedicated by the cities themselves.¹⁸ However, nowhere else in the empire is there a similar Valentinianic resurgence, which we would expect in response to what was presumably an empire-wide policy towards the cities, and, even stranger, this African surge in imperial statuary evaporates under the Theodosian emperors (from 379): the thirty-one imperial statues known from the period 363–79, fall to only nine for the period after 379. This cannot be attributed to a change of heart towards statuary on the part of the emperors themselves (perhaps letting it be known that they did not welcome statue dedications), since Theodosian emperors (and empresses) were awarded statues with some regularity in the east Mediterranean. As far as we can tell, the statue habit in Africa, despite its apparent buoyancy in the 360s and 370s, was effectively dead by about 400, long before the Vandal invasion of 429–39. Only seven dedications known from the whole of North Africa could be as late as the fifth century, and only one of these, a base from Lepcis datable to the period 408–23, has to be later than 400.¹⁹

¹⁸ Lepelley (1979: 101–6, at 101–2). There are many exceptions to this rule, but throughout the Roman world dedications to emperors in lesser cities were generally made by the cities themselves (often specified as a decision of the council), while those in provincial capitals were generally made by governors.

¹⁹ LSA 1767 (AD 383–408), 1832 (AD 393–424), 2160 and 2161 (both possibly of AD 402), 2451 (AD 389–439), and 2468 (AD 395–408). Lepcis inscription of AD 408–23: LSA 2177. There is one remarkable outlier: a statue inscription from Carthage (now lost) for Justin II (AD 565–78, LSA 2771). Outside Constantinople, there is no other evidence of statue dedications to Justin; indeed, with the Column of Phocas in Rome, this is the only certain statue dedication outside Constantinople later than the reign of Justinian (527–65).

¹⁶ For what follows, see Ch. 4 (de Bruyn and Machado) on North Africa, and Ch. 16 (Bigi and Tantillo) on Lepcis Magna.

¹⁷ Ephesus has 45 inscriptions in our database and Aphrodisias 40, while in the west, Puteoli with 26 produces the largest number after Lepcis.

The Aegean region, including Constantinople, is the most important region of all for late antique honorific statuary: it is here that the great majority of well-preserved sculptural remains have been found, and here that the statue habit lasted longest.²⁰ As we have seen, in the western Mediterranean, new dedications had for the most part ceased by around AD 410 (except in Rome); in the Aegean, they continued through the fifth century and into the sixth. This is, therefore, the key region for appreciating and understanding the last statuary of the Roman world; but there are a number of problems in charting the latest stages of the eastern statue habit with any degree of confidence and precision.

A major difficulty is the almost complete disappearance, at an early date, of new dedications to emperors in any city outside Constantinople, which means that imperial statuary can no longer be used as an index of what was happening more widely across the statue habit. In the earlier Theodosian period (the years between 379 and 408), dedications to emperors and members of their family were still common in the east (there are thirty-one known from cities other than Constantinople). But after 408, provincial imperial statuary dried up dramatically: there are only some twelve or so fifth- and sixth-century eastern provincial statues to emperors that must be later than 408. They are as follows: (1) one at Erythai, in the province of Asia, to Honorius and Theodosius II (AD 408–23, LSA 285); (2)–(4) three wholly anomalous bases from the military site of Novae in the Balkans, which perhaps supported imperial statues (AD 430–32, LSA 1102, 1103, and 2445) (Fig. 6.7); (5)–(7) records of three statues set up to the empress Eudocia (one of 421–39 in her home town of Athens, LSA 139; two of AD 444 in Antioch, LSA 2742 and 2743);²¹ (8) and (9) two provincial statues

recorded to Anastasius I (AD 491–518); and (10)–(12) at least three to Justinian (AD 527–65).²² As far as we know, the emperors Marcian, Leo I, and Zeno, who between them ruled from 450 to 491, received not a single statue in the eastern Mediterranean outside the imperial capital,²³ and after Justinian silence descends.

Since outside Constantinople we lack imperial statuary, to understand the pattern of change in the Aegean region we need to examine dedications to imperial office-holders and to local dignitaries. But in the east, late antique non-imperial honours are particularly difficult to date, because the Greek-speaking world had adopted a habit of celebrating its non-imperial honorands in elaborate verse, with much more interest in describing their virtues than in setting out their names in full or in giving detailed accounts of their careers.²⁴ As a result, these men are often difficult to identify with confidence, and therefore difficult to date. For instance, at Aphrodisias, a statue was set up to a governor who is simply named 'Oikumenios' in the honorific inscription on its base (LSA 151). We would like to know whether this man was Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus, who is known to have served as governor of the province of Creta in 382–3, because this would provide external evidence to date the dedication and the statue (LSA 150) that was found with it (Fig. 1.15). But because the inscription gives only one of the honorand's names and no further clues as to his identity, we cannot be certain that we are dealing with the same man.

Because eastern honours were commemorated in polished verse, some of these were copied and subsequently circulated in collections of Greek

²² To Anastasius: LSA 2754 (Alexandria in 501) and 2757 (Dara in 505–18). There are two statue bases with dedications that are certainly to Justinian: LSA 365 (Antiochia ad Pisidiam) and 2636 (Cyrrhus in Euphratensis). Two more that are much less certain are: LSA 231 (Aphrodisias) and 945 (Samo-thrace). Additionally, we can be confident that the statue erected in the centre of Justiniana Prima was to Justinian, the city's founder (LSA 1784).

²³ There is evidence of statues to Zeno in the west: LSA 2749 (Rome) and perhaps LSA 13 (Salona).

²⁴ Robert (1948: 107–10).

²⁰ For what follows, see Ch. 7 (Gehn) on Greece and the islands; Ch. 8 (Lenaghan) on Asia Minor; Ch. 12 (Smith) on Aphrodisias; Ch. 13 (Auinger and Sokolicek) on Ephesus; Ch. 14 (Brown) on Corinth; and Ch. 15 (Gehn) on Athens.

²¹ Additionally, LSA 197 from Aphrodisias, rededicated to an emperor Theodosius, could possibly be to Theodosius II (408–50) rather than Theodosius I (379–95).

poetry.²⁵ This is of course useful for the modern scholar, since it has preserved record of a number of inscriptions which would otherwise have been completely lost, in particular those for an important group of statues set up in the hippodrome of Constantinople to successful charioteers of the later fifth and earlier sixth century.²⁶ This poetic record, however, carries with it problems for anyone seeking to document the last phase of ancient sculpture in the round: it is clear that honorific *paintings*, as well as honorific statues, existed in the sixth century (and possibly earlier); and the poems rarely specify, even when it is certain that they were attached to images, whether these images were two- or three-dimensional.²⁷ Several of the poems merely say that they relate to an *eikōn* (image), a word that can refer to any medium of representation (sculpture, painting, mosaic, or some other material). Only rarely do such poems contain enough clues for us to be certain that sculpture is referred to: an example is a poem concerning Proculus, quaestor of the palace in Constantinople, which, fortunately for us, contains the line, 'this bronze announces what reward my labours had', making it almost certain that it was attached to a bronze statue (LSA 488 of AD 522–7).²⁸

If we examine all the available evidence, problematic though it is, it is clear that statue honours continued, even outside Constantinople, through the fifth century and possibly into the sixth. There are, first of all, a few statue honours that can reliably be associated with known individuals of the second half of the fifth century: in 457 at Laodicea ad Lycum (in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana) a statue was set up to Flavius Constantius, consul and prefect of the east (LSA 525); between 424 and 471 (and probably towards the end of that period), one at Augusta Traiana (Thracia) to Aspar, *magister utriusque militiae*

(LSA 10); in 465–74 at Philippopolis (Thracia) to Basiliscus, consul and also *magister utriusque militiae* (LSA 367); and in 475–8 at Metropolis (Phrygia Salutaris), statues to Epinicus, praetorian prefect of the east and a native of Metropolis, and his wife (LSA 667 and 668). Two of these dedications, those to Aspar and to Basiliscus, are anomalous, because they were for military figures (who traditionally had not received statue honours), and because they come from a province (Thracia in the Balkans) where the statue habit had otherwise long disappeared; so they are probably less a continuation of the statue habit than a reinvention of it after a lapse of time. The statues at Laodicea and at Metropolis, however, are wholly in line with earlier practice and almost certainly represent manifestations of a continuous practice.

As well as these bases that can be associated with datable individuals, there are others that certainly date from the fifth century (or later), even though we cannot tie them to known and datable figures. For instance, a base at Aphrodisias to a governor of Caria, Flavius Palmatus (LSA 199), which is both important and well known (because it is associated with a surviving statue, LSA 198, Fig. 12.6), is certainly of the fifth or early sixth century, because it describes Palmatus as holding a consular governorship, which Caria became at some point only after 395–413. The statue's appearance, primarily its remarkable hairstyle, suggests that it is from the late fifth or early sixth century. There is, indeed, some evidence that could testify to provincial statuary at an even later date: for instance, a base at Ephesus to an imperial office-holder named 'Theodorus' (LSA 726) might be to a Theodorus who was governor of Asia (of which Ephesus was the capital) around the mid-sixth century (although the name became common in the later fifth and sixth centuries, so this is not certain). There are even poems recording images of the later sixth century, which might possibly have been for statues: for instance, an epigram relates to the setting up of an *eikōn* to the poet and historian Agathias in his home town of Myrina in the province of Asia (LSA 663), which must date

from the period after he had become famous in the mid-sixth century and before his death around 582. This image may have been a painting, but the wording of the epigram would also suit a statue.²⁹ As we shall see, in Constantinople the statue habit is reliably documented for the imperial family into the early seventh century and for non-imperial figures at least into the reign of Justinian (527–65), so it is possible that some new honorific statuary was erected in the provinces of Asia Minor into the sixth century.

What we can say with absolute certainty is that the statue habit survived in the provincial cities of the Aegean considerably later than it did in the west, at the very least into the late fifth century (though probably in ever diminishing quantities), and possibly into the sixth. It is likely that there was considerable variation within the broad Aegean region, with much better survival of the statue habit in some regions than in others—though, given the slippery nature of our evidence, this is difficult to pin down. For instance, if we look only at the evidence of inscriptions, it seems that the statue habit disappeared much earlier in mainland Greece and the islands than it did in Asia Minor: there are statue inscriptions from Greece and Crete reliably datable to the first two decades of the fifth century, but thereafter the only statue dedication that can be dated with confidence is the one in Athens set up by the emperor Theodosius II to his wife, Eudocia, in 421–39.³⁰ This picture from Greece, though fairly clear from the evidence of the statue bases, is muddled when one considers the evidence of surviving sculpture, because a substantial body of sculptural material is dated art-historically to the fifth century and even into

the sixth.³¹ Is this 'late' material in fact much earlier than we think, or do we simply lack the datable inscriptions that went with this sculpture?

The picture from Constantinople is much clearer, at least for imperial statuary, though we rely for the most part on literary evidence.³² Some of this evidence comes from the eighth-century *Parastaseis*, which are notoriously unreliable when telling stories about statues in the past and about the circumstances in which statues were erected, but seem to be essentially trustworthy when listing the mass of imperial statuary still visible around the city. Furthermore, there is enough evidence in chronicles, such as the *Chronicon Paschale* and that of John Malalas, as well as in a few recorded verse dedications, to support the basic picture offered by the *Parastaseis*—a city teeming with imperial statuary, added to throughout the fifth and sixth centuries. Some of these imperial projects were on a grandiose scale, unmatched in the west in the same period: the colossal statue that Theodosius I set up on a spiral column in the centre of his forum in 386–94 (LSA 2458), which was later replaced by a statue of Anastasius; Arcadius' column and statue of 401–21 (LSA 2459); and the gigantic equestrian statue that Justinian erected on a column in the Augusteion in 543 (LSA 2463). A characteristic of the city, from the time of Theodosius I (379–95) onwards, was the presence of striking numbers of statues to women of the imperial house, and, under Theodosius I and the emperors of the later sixth century, the setting up of whole dynastic groups. In the time of Justin II (565–74), such groups apparently included statues of the emperor's daughters. The evidence for imperial statuary in Constantinople is continuous until the reign of Phocas

²⁹ In favour of it being a painting is the fact that the image of Agathias was accompanied by images of his father and brother: these are easier to envisage as a group painting than as three separate statues.

³⁰ The datable 5th-c. dedications of Greece and the islands are the following: a statue at Megara and two at Athens to Herculius, praetorian prefect, of AD 407–12 (LSA 55, 137, and 138); a statue at Gortyna on Crete to Leontius, praetorian prefect, of either 412–13 or of 435–41 (LSA 787); and the statue to Eudocia at Athens of 421–39 (LSA 139).

³¹ Examples of sculpture from Greece dated on stylistic grounds to the 5th c. are: LSA 54, 68, 69, 75, 77, 80, 117, 119, 143, and 2311. Amongst the Greek material is a group of *chlamydati* from Corinth with highly stylized drapery, which have often been dated to the 6th c. on stylistic grounds: LSA 19, 22, 23, and 24.

³² For the detail of what follows, see Ch. 11 (Gehn and Ward-Perkins).

²⁵ The phenomenon is discussed by Bauer (2007).

²⁶ Cameron (1973). LSA 349, 361, 489, 499–507, and 511.

²⁷ Mango (1986) discusses this evidence for images in paint or mosaic. Examples of honorific epigrams that certainly refer to paintings are *Anthologia Graeca*, I.36 and XVI.36 and 41 (all by Agathias, and therefore of the mid- to later 6th c.).

²⁸ Unless, highly implausibly, a bronze plaque is intended.

(602–10). There is, however, no evidence that his successor, Heraclius (610–41), was ever honoured with a statue, though his nephew and close political ally, Nicetas, was awarded a gilded equestrian statue, probably soon after Heraclius' seizure of power (LSA 478). This is the last reliably documented statue of the ancient world.

The evidence from Constantinople for statues to people below the level of the imperial family is much thinner, because our literary sources were little interested in recording honours below the imperial. However, while it is insufficient to quantify, there is enough evidence to show that the city, as we would expect, had a range of dedications to diverse personages. Particularly striking is a group of statue honours that are of a completely new type and exclusive to the eastern capital: eighteen statues to successful charioteers that were erected on a distinctive and highly elaborate form of base in the Hippodrome between the late fifth century and the earlier sixth (LSA 349, 361 (Fig. 2.1), 489, 499–507, and 511). They reveal not only continuity but also lively innovation within the statue habit in the eastern capital, at a time when in the west, even in Rome, the practice of erecting statuary had effectively disappeared. Exactly when non-imperial statuary ended in Constantinople is impossible to say. We have good evidence for the charioteer statues continuing to around 540 (LSA 500); of a statue to a quaestor of the palace of 522–7 (LSA 488); of one to a prefect of the city of 536–42 (LSA 476); of one to the general Belisarius of 529–62 (LSA 2794); and of a probable statue to a consul and praetorian prefect of the mid-sixth century (LSA 477). Non-imperial statue honours then perhaps ended around the mid-sixth century, earlier than statues to emperors, which continued into the early seventh century.

WHY THE END OF THE STATUE HABIT?

The evidence of the 'Last Statues of Antiquity' database allows us to speculate intelligently about why new honorific statuary disappeared from the empire—a process which, as we have

seen, was progressive but slow. A first point to make is one that is disappointing for a scholar who has spent several years studying statuary: statues played an important role in expressing and lubricating the political relationship between cities and their masters, but they were far from indispensable, even in an urban context. The cities of Egypt and the Levant flourished in late antiquity and did perfectly well with little new honorific sculpture, as they had done through the previous centuries of imperial rule. The statue habit was not universal in the Roman empire, and its demise is emphatically not an index of the economic and demographic decline of the ancient city, nor was it essential in the dealings of cities with their masters.

Nor did the end of statuary constitute an end to the importance of images in social and political life. Statues had always been only one part of the wide range of human representation deployed in antiquity, of which the one omnipresent aspect was the head of the emperor on coinage. As statuary died out, some forms of imagery continued, such as that on coins, and others gained ground, such as the painted images of saints ('icons'). As today, outdoor display required statues for their durability, but painted images were more convenient indoors because they took up less space and could be moved around more easily: panels with the heads of the ruling emperors appear behind Pilate in the trial scene of the Rossano Gospels, and a passage by Severian of Gabala, written around 400, testifies to their ubiquity:

Think how many governors there are in the whole world. From the moment that the emperor is not in contact with them all, it is necessary that his image be posted in the tribunals, the markets, and in meeting places and theatres, in all places in which the governor does business, in order that his acts have the necessary authority.³³

Because statues have survived comparatively well in the archaeological record, there is a risk of exaggerating their importance.

³³ Quoted from Lavan (2011: 462).

The concentrations of late antique statuary—in Rome, southern Italy, central North Africa, and the Aegean region—show that the statue habit was tied to a particular style of urban life: the 'civic' and, in Rome and Italy, the 'senatorial'. Of the 1,180 new dedications recorded in the LSA database for which we know the awarder, 609 (just over half the total), were made by provincial cities themselves (and are generally expressed as by their councils), and a further 78 were dedicated by the authorities of the city of Rome.³⁴ The only other substantial categories of awarder in the LSA record are provincial governors, with some 200 dedications, and high imperial office-holders, with seventy-three.³⁵ The practice of erecting honorific statuary was closely tied to traditional civic politics, and its decline is unquestionably largely explained by the well-known progressive diminution in the status of civic ideals and the real power of city notables. They survived longest in the Aegean, where this set of ideals had been born.³⁶

An examination of the statue dedications to Julian (Augustus 360–63) confirms the link between traditional city politics and new statuary. Julian set out to revive the autonomy and status of cities, and was rewarded with at least thirty-three statues in the provincial cities of the empire. At least twelve, and possibly fourteen, of these were awarded in Asia Minor, where Julian ruled for only eighteen months.³⁷ By contrast, and despite his long reign, Constantius II (337–61), Julian's predecessor, had received only eight

statues in the same region, and his successor, Valens (363–78), was to receive only five.³⁸ It is true that the majority of statues to emperors was probably erected shortly after their accession (as a mark of loyalty to the new regime), so the relative lengths of these three emperors' reigns is not as significant as we might initially expect; but it is nonetheless striking that an emperor who was keen to foster traditional civic politics received an exceptional number of statue honours. Three of the inscriptions also make reference to Julian's highly traditional religious and philosophical ideals: Miletus, in its dedication, described itself as 'the nurse of Didymean Apollo', while Pergamum praised Julian as a 'master of philosophy', and Iasos as one 'who is ruling by [the precepts of] philosophy'. The statue habit, civic politics, and old-fashioned philosophical and religious ideas were to some extent entwined, and—unfortunately for statuary—all were in decline in late antiquity.

However, while the statue habit was heavily dependent on dedications by cities, and hence in a weak position, the cities had by the start of our period adjusted its use to suit the world of late antiquity—a world dominated by the emperors and by imperial office-holders. Of the 609 new dedications made by cities, 284 were to emperors and a further 198 to imperial office-holders (134 of these to provincial governors); only twenty-five were set up to local civic office holders. The statue habit had adapted and was being used astutely. It was also being used by men inside the imperial system. As we have seen, the second and third largest categories of awarders are provincial governors (c.200 dedications) and other, even higher imperial office-holders (seventy-three). These men used statuary in exactly the same way that the cities did: to express their loyalty to their own masters and to please them. In the vast majority of cases, the master they

³⁴ 31 by the Senate (and People) and the 47 by the prefect of the city.

³⁵ These figures are for statues known from their inscribed bases, and exclude the statuary that was not new but only 'curated' in late antiquity. It should be noted that some statues had awarders who can be categorized under more than one type (e.g. a 'Prefect of Rome' might also be a 'Family Member'), so the totals revealed by searching the LSA database under different categories of awarder add up to more than the total number of known awarder-inscriptions.

³⁶ Liebeschuetz (1992; 2001).

³⁷ LSA 197 (Aphrodisias), 2279 (Balboura), 713 and 748 (both Ephesus), 514 (Iasos), 290 (Ilium), 613 (Magnesia ad Maeandrum, probably to Julian), 550 (Miletus), 635 (Myra, probably to Julian), 517 (Pergamum), 2526 and 2527 (both Sagalassus), 265 (Side), and 2846 (Ancyra).

³⁸ To Constantius II as Augustus, 8 dedications in 5 cities: LSA 291 (Assos), 2079 and 2086 (both Ephesus); 632 and 634 (both Myra); 264 (Side); 2524 and 2525 (both Sagalassus). To Valens: LSA 223 (Aphrodisias); 2280 and 2281 (both Balboura); 638 (Hierapolis Castabala); and 2524 (Myra).

chose was the emperor himself, who received about 165 of the dedications by governors and sixty-five of those set up by higher-ranking office-holders. But an imperial office-holder could also use statuary to flatter men who stood higher in the official pecking order: for instance, in 382–3 a governor of Creta erected in his capital, Gortyna, a remarkable group of bases, honouring not only the emperors of the imperial college (LSA 472, 770, 771, and 950) but also a number of high-ranking senatorial aristocrats (LSA 775–83) (Fig. 17.2). The precise motivation for this group dedication is uncertain, but in making it, the governor was surely hoping to further his own career.³⁹

In Rome, southern Italy, and (to a lesser extent) Africa, the statue habit was closely tied to the power and tastes of the region's highly traditional senatorial aristocracy. Ammianus Marcellinus, in a famous passage lambasting the senators of Rome (14.6.8), included a criticism of their love of statuary:

Some of them, believing that through statues they will be remembered forever, passionately seek these, as if they would gain a greater reward through a lifeless bronze image than through knowing that they had behaved with honesty and rectitude; and they have these statues covered in gold....

The LSA database fully supports this picture of the senatorial aristocracy's love of statuary. Southern Italy and Rome are the only regions of the empire where dedications to emperors are only about a third of the total, rather than the half or more in other areas (including northern Italy).⁴⁰ This is not because dedications to emperors are lacking, but because dedications to aristocrats are so abundant. Of the 152 new dedications known from Campania, the heartland of the senatorial aristocracy's estates, the large majority (some 102 bases) are to aristocrats, pushing the thirty-four statues to emperors (a healthy

number) down to around 22 per cent of the total. The role of statues in reflecting and expressing local dependence on the power of great aristocrats was peculiarly strong in Italy. Of the 172 statue inscriptions that make it explicit that they were set up to patrons (*patroni*), over two-thirds are from Italy (ninety-four of them from southern Italy).⁴¹ It is also from southern Italy that the inscriptions on statue bases reach the highest flights of rhetoric when talking about statue honours. For instance, an inscription of 379–82 from Beneventum to a governor of Campania describes the statue that was being set up as an 'outstanding and special gift, glorious above all other honours' (LSA 1730).

All this evidence suggests that statues were still useful as a way of expressing loyalty, whether to emperors, imperial office-holders, or aristocratic patrons. Furthermore, when as often they were made from re-used components, they were not as expensive as they used to be. The decline in civic politics during late antiquity can explain the much smaller number of honours for local men and a radical decline in the overall statue habit; but it does not explain why a convenient form of flattery totally disappeared: setting up a statue to the reigning emperor or a local patron did not require large funds, nor a lively infrastructure of civic politics.

To understand why new statuary completely disappeared, we also need to look more widely, at a disparate series of lesser factors that combined with the decline of civic politics to kill off the statue habit. One important one was the rise of Christianity. This unquestionably had an immediate negative impact on religious sculpture: since Christians had spent centuries resisting the worship of 'idols', they were unlikely to set up many new idols of their own. There is evidence for some large-scale Christian religious statuary, but it is rare, and the best attested examples are from the reign of Constantine (in particular some silver statuary in the Lateran

³⁹ These dedications, and their possible motivation, are fully explored in Ch. 17 (Bigi and Tantillo).

⁴⁰ For the details, and for what follows, see Ch. 3 (Machado) and Ch. 10 (Machado with Lenaghan).

⁴¹ There are 39 from North Africa. In the east Mediterranean, mentions of a patronage relationship on statue dedications are exceedingly rare.

basilica and baptistry), when patrons were perhaps still experimenting with art forms for the newly monumental buildings of their religion.⁴² The only surviving large-scale Christian statues that we have found, and therefore entered in the LSA database, are a possible Evangelist from Constantinople (LSA 2420) and three striking shield portraits, also from Constantinople and also probably of Evangelists or Apostles (LSA 2416, 2417, and 2418, Fig. 11.4).⁴³ These latter constitute a Christian appropriation of the tradition of representing intellectual heroes within tondos, best known from the series of philosophers found at Aphrodisias (LSA 206–8, 210–12, 214, 236, 238, and 602, Fig. 1.21). But the extreme scarcity of this material is much more telling in relation to the wider trend than are the few surviving pieces of Christian statuary. Particularly interesting in this regard is a base from Ephesus, with an inscription recording the removal of a statue of Ephesian Diana and its replacement with a cross (LSA 610): 'Destroying the guileful statue of the demon Artemis, Demeas dedicated this mark of truth, the divine cross, the driver away of old idols, immortal victory-bearing sign of Christ.' When Demeas removed the pagan statue, probably towards the end of the fourth century, he did not replace it with a statue of Christ or one of the Apostles, but with a non-figurative symbol, the Cross. In three-dimensional art, Christianity was more comfortable with such symbols than it was with figurative images.⁴⁴

The death of religious statuary, though important in itself, does not however explain the slow disappearance of secular honorific statues, which constitute by far the largest category in our database. At no point did churchmen condemn secular

statues outright, and profoundly pious emperors, like Theodosius I and Justinian, were enthusiastic recipients of statue honours: Theodosius even encouraged the erection of statues to his dead father.⁴⁵ However, it is also true that, while not condemning secular statuary, the new religion did not provide fertile ground for it to flourish. For instance, in Christian times there was unease about the degree to which imperial statuary, indeed any imperial image, could be venerated, whereas in the pagan past this had not been an issue.⁴⁶ In 425, a law 'On Imperial Images' made it clear that these should not be excessively adored, since 'worship in excess of human dignity is reserved for the supreme God (*supernum numen*)'; one of the things that the emperor Phocas was criticised for on his fall in 610 was for having an image of himself carried into the Hippodrome accompanied by men in white robes and bearing lighted candles.⁴⁷ It is also striking that, while churchmen became comfortable with two-dimensional images of themselves, in particular as the donors or dedicators of new churches (as we see, e.g. in the mosaics of Poreč and San Vitale), there is no evidence that a bishop, or other churchman, was ever honoured with a statue.⁴⁸

There is also evidence that, in some minds at least, the dedication of statues should still be accompanied by pagan ritual, a feature that is unlikely to have enthused contemporary churchmen. A praetorian prefect of the east, the pagan Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, between 388 and

⁴⁵ LSA 721 (Ephesus), 1695 (Canusium), 2725 (Antioch), 2730 (Rome), and 2731 (Stobi), of which all but the first were equestrian. LSA 2667 (Rome) is a unique statue dedication to Theodosius' dead mother, Thermantia. His (living) wife, Aelia Flacilla, was also commemorated: LSA 185 (Aphrodisias), 723 and 745 (both Ephesus), 2726 (Antioch), and 2729 (Constantinople).

⁴⁶ Well discussed in Setton (1941: 196–211).

⁴⁷ Law of 425: *CTh* 15.4.1. Phocas: *Chronicon Paschale*, under the year 610.

⁴⁸ LSA 479 is a statue epigram with a lemma suggesting it was dedicated to a patriarch of Alexandria; but the evidence for thinking the lemma erroneous is overwhelming. The earliest evidence of a living churchman represented in two dimensions in a Christian context is from 402: a painting of Paulinus of Nola, set up by his friend Sulpicius Severus: Bianco (1992–3); Lehman (1997).

⁴² Lateran statuary: LSA 508 and 509; de Blaauw (1996).

⁴³ There are, of course, plenty of bas-relief Christian sculptures on the front of sarcophagi and a few small-scale sculptures in the round, such as the Good Shepherd statuette now in the Vatican Museum, and the remarkable Jonah images now in Cleveland.

⁴⁴ When, in the early 7th c., Heraclius appropriated a column in Constantinople built by his predecessor Phocas, he set on top of it not the statue of a saint (nor of himself) but a cross (LSA 2775).

392 erected a series of statues in Asia Minor and Egypt: in all the instances where the inscription is still complete enough to read it, he included the phrase 'set this up with the customary devotion', a clear reference to pagan ritual.⁴⁹ Such explicitly pagan ceremonial will not have survived the ban on the practices of the old religion enacted by Theodosius, but it was never, as far as we know, replaced by Christian ritual: when a statue of the empress Eudoxia was erected in Constantinople in 403, the dancers and applause 'customary on the erection of statues of the emperors' so disturbed the patriarch John Chrysostom, who was celebrating the liturgy in St Sophia, that he delivered a tirade against the empress, thus prompting his own exile.⁵⁰ The setting up of statues, while not explicitly in conflict with Christian values, was at best a secular event, and hence not always fully at home in the new world.

Nowhere is this clearer than in four statue inscriptions from Stratonicea in Asia Minor, all to a certain Maximus.⁵¹ They represent a serious attempt to fuse the values of traditional munificence, which would be rewarded with the adulation of fellow citizens and often with a statue, with the ideals of Christianity, whose rewards are only in Heaven. One of these inscriptions tells of how 'the Council (*boulē*) and the citizens without wealth (*akteanoi poliētai*) set [Maximus] up in glorious images of stone in front of the sacred houses of Christ God', and concludes with the pious statement 'How good it is not to care for wealth!' (LSA 657). The location of this statue (in front of a church), the 'citizens without wealth' (probably a way of describing the *demos*), and the final phrase dismissing wealth, are all suitably Christian in tone; but Maximus, the despiser of wealth, was also expected to enjoy the worldly fame provided by 'glorious images of stone'. The statue habit formed part of a set of values in which it was

natural and right to revel in public esteem; indeed, rewarding benefactors with statues was a central plank of this value system. These simple ideals did not sit happily within the new Christian dispensation, in which good deeds were not meant to lead to earthly glory.⁵²

It is also possible, though hard to prove, that Christianity, with its distrust of three-dimensional 'idols', nudged patrons away from being commemorated in statuary, towards being honoured in paintings or mosaics. As we have seen above, there is good evidence from recorded epigrams of late antique two-dimensional images that served precisely the same honorific purposes as statues—the epigrams attached to these images are so similar to those for statues that often they cannot be told apart.⁵³ Because we depend on the chance survival of epigrams to document these two-dimensional images, it is impossible to know how common they were and whether they were a replacement for statuary or an adjunct to the statue habit that had long existed. When the powerful eastern minister Eutropius fell from power in 399, a law was issued annulling all his acts and ordering the destruction of all his portraits: 'All statues, all portraits [*simulacra*], whether of bronze, or marble, or of colours [*ex fucinis*], indeed of any material whatsoever...'. In 399, statues and painted images clearly existed side by side, probably serving complementary roles; but rather later in time two-dimensional images may have played a part in driving statuary towards extinction. There is no evidence of Justinian being commemorated with a statue in Italy, despite his 'liberation' of the peninsula, but he and Theodora were honoured in two dimensions in the famous mosaics set up in the chancel of San Vitale (Figs 20.1 and 23.3). By the

⁵² LSA 1685 from Praeneste (Campania) is another interesting inscription, combining wholly traditional commemoration through a statue and annual feasts, with a Christian hope in the afterlife, describing the honoured man, who had died young, as 'sought for in heaven that he might be freed from bodily prison'.

⁵³ The classic discussion of these is Mango (1986). Good examples of epigrams that might be either for two- or three-dimensional images are LSA 476, 477, and 481 (all Constantinople), and 663 (Myrina in Asia Minor).

⁴⁹ LSA 164, 166, and 167 (all Aphrodisias), 267 (Side), and 876 (Antinoopolis).

⁵⁰ The base for this statue is LSA 27; the quotation is from Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History* 8.20.T.

⁵¹ LSA 657, and 1200–1202; I discuss these inscriptions in detail in Ward-Perkins (2015).

530s in Italy, mosaic representations within a church may well have been seen as both more appropriate and more prestigious than traditional statuary in a secular context.

While there may have been something of a move towards honorific images in paint or mosaic and away from statuary, this can only have been a slow change: while it was perhaps thought most appropriate in Ravenna to honour Justinian in mosaic, a colossal equestrian statue to the same emperor was being set up in the heart of Constantinople (LSA 2463), and he was also honoured with a statue on a column in the centre of his new foundation, Justiniana Prima (LSA 1784). There was certainly no wholesale rejection of statuary in late antiquity: a number of statue bases survive from Rome, Italy, and Africa with inscriptions that record the 'curating' of earlier statuary (*curavit*), some of them from a period after new statuary had disappeared. Few of these inscriptions are explicit as to what exactly was done to the statue involved (we assume that for the most part it was moved to a new and better location, because this is sometimes stated, and perhaps repaired or conserved if necessary); but in all cases the office-holder concerned proudly recorded his intervention in an inscription. Statuary was still appreciated even after patrons had ceased to erect new statues in any quantity.⁵⁴

A further factor that probably played a part in the decline of the statue habit was ever greater imperial control over the erection of new honorific statues. At some point in the 340s, a law

(which does not survive) was issued, decreeing that imperial permission was needed before any statue in bronze could be set up: statue bases from Berytus (modern Beirut) of 344 and from Cirta in Numidia of 340–50 both refer to imperial permission in relation to bronze statues (LSA 1190 and 2327), while an inscription from Athens of 379–95 is explicit that a marble statue could be set up with permission from the city, while a statue of bronze required the consent of the emperor (LSA 2 and 423). In 398 this law was extended, in the case of dedications to imperial office-holders, to all statues, even those in marble, though there is no good evidence to show that this directive was enforced.⁵⁵ In 439 the emperors banned the erection of any imperial statue by private individuals, ostensibly lest the awarders gain a sense of ownership of the statue through their generosity.⁵⁶ Finally, a law of 444 ordered that those honoured with statues should pay for them themselves in order to ensure that public money was not spent on them.⁵⁷ These laws must have had a dampening effect on the statue habit, though we should note that they were primarily aimed at controlling the erection of statues to people below the level of the imperial family, and of imperial statues by individuals—statues to emperors erected by cities, which constitute a large part of our evidence, should not have been affected.

In one particular case, southern Italy, we can probably tie the final demise of new statuary to a specific historical event—the early fifth-century Gothic invasion that resulted in the sack of Rome in 410. Twelve statue inscriptions from southern Italy can be dated with reasonable confidence to the decade 400–409, revealing a statue habit that was still very much alive at the beginning of the fifth century. But after 409 the only securely dated inscription for a new statue, from the entire region, is a dedication of 435 in Aricia to a

⁵⁴ Our database includes 154 'repair and relocation' inscriptions, visible by clicking on 'View only inscriptions recording relocation or repairs of statues' in an Advanced Search: 80 (somewhat over half the total) are from Rome; 34 from Italy; and a further 35 from Africa. Regrettably, although archaeological work at sites like Aphrodisias, Ephesus, and Miletus has shown that similar 'curating' of statues was commonplace in the eastern empire (see, e.g. Smith 2007 and 2012b), there it never became a common practice to commemorate it with an inscription. A search in the database for 'curating' inscriptions later than 450 produces 16 examples, for the most part from Rome, but including a case at Faventia in northern Italy (LSA 1613) and another at Catina in Sicily (LSA 2057). The care of statues in Italy is also a well-known feature of the *Variae* of Ostrogothic times.

⁵⁵ CJ I.24.1.

⁵⁶ CJ I.24.3.

⁵⁷ CJ I.24.4. On this legislation and its epigraphic attestations: von Premerstein (1912); Feissel (1984); Horster (1998).

praetorian prefect of Italy.⁵⁸ It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the disasters around 410 dented the self-confidence of the cities of southern Italy, to the point that they abandoned what appears to have been still a fairly lively tradition of erecting honorific statues.⁵⁹

At the very end of the statue habit, a lack of the considerable technical competence needed to produce life-sized three-dimensional images may even have played a small part in finally killing off new statuary. Our evidence suggests, however, that where there was the will, the means to erect statues could generally be found: for instance, when the inhabitants of two cities in Thrace (one of them a minor centre) decided to honour military men of the mid- to late fifth century, long after the statue habit had disappeared from the region, somehow they were able to do this (LSA 10 and 367). We should also note that late antique awarders of statues were often happy to take substantial short cuts in producing 'new' statues, by lightly adapting earlier material for their dedications. For instance, when the inhabitants of Side wanted to set up a group of statues to the emperors of one of the tetrarchies, they took heroic nudes of the Julio-Claudian period and simply recarved the heads (LSA 245 and 246). The universality of this practice shows up clearly in our database, where late antique heads abound, while late antique bodies are rare.

It is also clear that patrons could be satisfied with a finished result that we would regard as technically substandard. In sculpture, the best examples of this are a group of statues to late antique imperial office-holders in Corinth, the capital of the province of Achaia and therefore close to the centre of Greek cultural aspirations (LSA 19, 22-4, and 80; Figs 14.5 and 14.12). These are highly schematic in their rendering of drapery and do not remotely approach the sophistication and finish of the best contemporary work, for example, at Aphrodisias. In one case (LSA 22), a naked foot and part of the

lower drapery of an earlier female image, that was adapted to celebrate the late antique honorand, were left clearly visible. The same (to us technically shoddy) approach can be found in many of the statue bases of the fourth and fifth centuries, which were probably almost all adapted from older material. For instance, one of the most prestigious statue bases of the early fifth century in Rome, set up to the *Fides* and *Virtus* of the emperor's armies in the centre of the Forum and facing the Senate House, is a re-used and damaged equestrian statue base set up on end, with metal repair clamps, which were presumably hidden under plaster, and with its original base and crown mouldings unaltered, although asymmetrical in their new vertical setting (LSA 1363, Fig. 10.4).

CONCLUSION

The decline of civic politics, with which honorific statuary was closely connected, was the most important cause of the decline of the statue habit; but it was not the only cause. Other developments played a role: above all, the rise of Christianity with its distrust of three-dimensional representation and its rejection (at least in theory) of worldly glory; increasing imperial regulation; perhaps even the loss of skills; and in one region, southern Italy, the barbarians played a walk-on part in the story. This is not to say, however, that our project has definitively 'solved' the problem of why the statue habit died in precisely the ways it did. For instance, we remain puzzled as to why new dedications ended in Africa so soon after they had had a revival in Valentinianic times, and why the cities of Asia Minor more or less stopped setting up statues to the emperor in the fifth century, while continuing to make dedications to lesser persons and while imperial statuary flourished in nearby Constantinople. Indeed, there can be no definitive answer as to why Heraclius finally broke with the tradition of accepting grandiose honorific monuments in Constantinople, preferring to place a cross on the column of his defeated rival than an image of himself (LSA 2775)—and thereby delivered the *coup de grâce* to the centuries-old statue habit.

⁵⁸ AD 400-409: LSA 327, 330, 339, 1413, 1808, 1862, 1934, 1942, 1973, 2030, 2039, and 2045. Post-409: LSA 324 (of AD 437 from Aricia).

⁵⁹ The evidence is set out and discussed in Ward-Perkins and Machado (2013).

CONCORDANCE

The following list provides for each LSA item a reference to its primary publication. After the running LSA number, the entries contain the following in abbreviated form: (1) category of evidence (base, statue, head, literary text); (2) name and/or category of honorand (emperor, governor, other office-holder); (3) city in which the honour was set up, awarded, or found; alternatively, for items, mainly of statuary, that have no documented provenance, city or museum in which item now located is given; (4) date, within knowable level of precision; and (5) reference to primary publication or corpus number.

All honorands are male except those for which the gender, f = female, is noted. On inscribed bases, honorands for whom no designation of office or other role is given should be assumed to be local notables of some sort. For surviving statuary, honorand categories are not given because they are usually not knowable with certainty. Unless otherwise noted, all items of surviving statuary are of white marble. Titles of abbreviated publications and corpora can be found in the Abbreviations (p. xxvii) or, for name-date citations, in the References (p. 372). The following abbreviations are also used.

armr	armour
ath(s)	athlete(s)
B	base
brd	beard
chl	chlamys
cln-shvn	clean shaven
ctrl braid	central braid (hairstyle)
div	divinity/non-mortal
E	early/earlier
Emp	emperor
encircl	encircling braid (hairstyle)
f	female
frg	fragment
Gov	governor
hd	head
hmtn	himation

hr	hair
Imp	imperial family
ImpOH	imperial office holder
int	intellectual, philosopher, sophist, writer
L	late/later
lg	long
M	Mid
mag mil	magister militum
med	medium (length of hair/beard)
mil	military official
mop	'mop' hairstyle
PPO	praefectus praetorio
PVC	praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae
PVR	praefectus urbis Romae
st(s)	statue(s)
stbb	stubble (beard)
std	seated
T	text
tog	toga/togatus

1. B, Sex. Cl. Petronius Probus, PPO, Athens, 368-88: IG II/III² 13275.
2. B, Theodorus, Gov, Athens, 379-95: IG II/III² 13276.
3. Hd, m, lg hr & brd, Constantinople, M4-6c: Firath 1990, no. 22.
4. Sts, porphyry, armr, Emp, Constantinople, 293-305: Delbrueck 1932, 84-91.
5. B, Constantius I, Emp, Aigion, 293-305: Rizakis 2008, no. 130.
6. B, Pub. Optatianus, Gov, Sparta, 325-9: Feissel & Philippidis-Braat 1985, no. 22.
7. Hd, brd, Sparta, L3-E4c: Datsoule-Stavride 1987, no. 4856.
8. Bust, f, headdress, now NY, L4-E5c: IR II, no. 335.
9. Hd, brd, Sparta, L3-E4c: Datsoule-Stavride 1987, no. 3964.